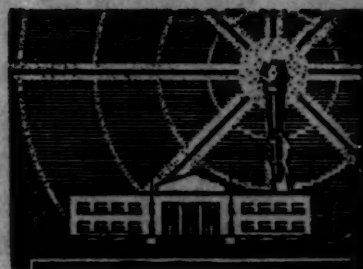


THE SOCIAL STUDIES



A PERIODICAL
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME XLVI, NUMBER 3

MARCH, 1955

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLVI, NUMBER 3

MARCH, 1955

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As the Editor Sees It

In a recent issue of the *NEA Journal*, there was a short article extolling the advantages of the National Honor Society and urging high schools to participate in it. Since we have given some thought to the subject of character awards and honors in high school, and since they involve "school citizenship," this column seems an appropriate place to raise a few questions.

Many high schools have chapters of the N.H.S.; many also give graduation awards based on such character traits as service, leadership, citizenship, sense of responsibility, and so on. Yet we know that many of these schools are not entirely happy with these things. We are convinced that if they could be eliminated without much ado, a number of administrators would quietly drop them over the side.

The avowed and obvious purposes of such honors are two-fold; to reward pupils who have been most deserving in the eyes of the faculty, and to provide an incentive to younger students to act in desirable ways so that they may look forward to similar honors. Now we have no particular quarrel with prizes given for the best work in English, or Chemistry, or Art or Dramatics. These are usually earned on merit, based on fairly objective records, and refer directly to skills taught in the school by trained teachers. But we do seriously question the practicability, the educational value and even the democratic nature of honors bestowed on certain pupils by their teachers because of supposedly superior character traits.

We suspect, in the first place, that teachers are no more competent than any other group of people to select from a class of students a few who really are superior to all the others in citizenship and character. It is inevitable that they will be influenced by the merits of pupils who have been polite, attentive, helpful and

compliant. We have sat with many committees of teachers who had to select NHS members and senior prize winners. They were invariably conscientious—and invariably disturbed when they were done by some of the inclusions and exclusions. They were not omniscient and they realized that some injustices must have been done. After all, there is no method devised by man whereby character can be truly assessed.

In the second place, we question the educational value of the whole process. Those who are chosen are not likely to be any the better for it, and their good qualities have been frequently recognized in many ways before, as normal occasions arose. But what of those (and their parents) who are also good youngsters and have been passed over? What is the educational value to them? They suffer disappointment and chagrin, humiliation and possibly bitterness. They do not know why they were ignored, and to a sensitive child the experience may well be devastating. When even part of the faculty wonders at the selections made, a strong sense of injustice and resentment can develop against the school.

Finally, is it truly a proper function of a democratic school system to designate publicly certain of its children as possessing a higher type of character than others? In a sense it perpetuates some of the evils of the secret societies that were recently abolished at Yale. To bestow an accolade on those who have most successfully completed a learning process that the school is established to teach is one thing. But to point to some children as being *generally better* individuals than others is not the school's (or anybody else's) business. There is no aspect of adult society where some citizens are officially voted as better than others; we wouldn't have it. Should we then do it to the children entrusted to us?

Prejudice and Economic Dogma

LAWRENCE PISANI

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The concept of economic factors as the underlying basis of human action in all fields, implicit in the familiar phrase "economic determinism," looms increasingly large in present day social thinking. Like the idea of barbaric invasions from the East to explain changes in the ancient and early medieval periods of history, or that of evolution as the secret of institutional status, economic determinism as a causal explanation is now offered as the key to all those social problems not otherwise fathomable. The study of the causes of prejudice, racial and ethnic, has not been free of this influence, so that those social scientists who pursue this reasoning opine that prejudice is purely an economic manifestation, whose elimination or alleviation may be sought only in the amelioration of economic conditions.

We propose to examine the extent to which prejudice may be legitimately traced to an economic basis, and the extent to which it exists in the absence of associated economic factors.

Association of Economics and Prejudice

Indications of a link between economics and prejudice are abundantly observable. As everywhere around us we see economic discrimination displayed against members of minority groups, understandable are those schools which conclude that prejudice was fashioned precisely for the purpose of assuring those who already possess economic status against the threats of those attempting or appearing to attempt to ascend the economic ladder. The Negro in the South, the Mexican in the Southwest, the Jew in the large cities, the Catholic where he is outnumbered and the Protestant where he is the minority, the Puerto Rican as he begins to enter in large numbers—all find their labor rejected or poorly paid, their factories and commercial establishments resented, their professional competition blocked. The ubiquity of

economic proscriptions upon minorities lends *prima facie* support to the contention of the doctrinaires that prejudice rises solely from economic causes.

Likewise when we measure the course of prejudice we find that its intensity varies in direct proportion to the state of economic conditions. Stages of recession and depression, characterized as they are by business failures and unemployment, are times also of increased racial and ethnic strife, with intensified competition for employment and other economic advantages. When a period of economic revival or prosperity prevails, however, group animosity is less frequently exhibited.

A similar variation in the intensity of antagonism between the same groups at different periods leads likewise to the postulate that since the factor of physical and cultural difference has remained relatively constant, the variable factor, the economic progress of the minority and the consequent threat to the dominant position of the majority, must be the cause of the greater antagonism, as a means of economic restriction. Mere "dislike of the unlike," even should it be considered sufficient basis for so frenetic a group hatred as is frequently displayed, cannot account for changes in intensity over a period of time.

Racial and ethnic differences, even aversion, may indeed exist without contingent antagonisms. The slaveholders of the old South professed a humanitarian interest in the welfare of the race entrusted, as so many proclaimed, to their care, and the empire builders could not bear enough of the trials of the white man's burden. Prejudice is not a corollary of physical or cultural differences, but enters the scene on the heels of economic competition, the theorists allege. The Japanese is an object of derision, perhaps, when he imitates our speech

patterns, but an object of hatred when he imitates our mass production industries. The Negro is threatened when he attempts to compete in the skilled trades, but accepted as a dining car waiter. Racial differences are regarded as a necessary but not sufficient cause in explaining prejudice, a facade concealing the true cause, economic competition.

Having ascertained by measurement the association of economics and prejudice, it remains for the economic determinists to explain the association in a plausible manner. The importance of economics in the life of each individual, whether he be in comfortable circumstances and seeking either to continue his advance or to retain what he already has, or whether he be struggling to keep from going under, lends these sociologists a clue. If racial differences can exist without prejudice, and economic prosperity with little prejudice, it must be that economic self-interest, the fear of competition and desire to eliminate a source of it, the propensity of businessmen to keep their labor costs down and their labor force divided, is what causes prejudice, either as a spontaneous matter or as an incited one. Prejudice performs a protective function in the struggle for economic survival.

The wage-earning class, at least in this country, is the economic group most susceptible to feelings of prejudice, not alone because of its generally lower level of education but because it is open to encroachment by alien groups. The very size of these groups impairs the position of labor by increasing the supply and apparently thereby reducing relatively the demand. (The role of new groups in increasing the demand as a reflection of the addition to consumption is an idea less easily grasped by the established laborers. Moreover there is a time lag between the expression of this additional consumption and its satisfaction by the increase in business activity and consequent call for additional workers, while the increase in labor supply is immediate. The correlation between the additional population and the expansion of business likewise is subtle, while the aggravated labor competition is clearly seen.) The character of both immigrant groups and native oppressed minorities, the one because for the most part impoverished conditions in the native country have been the cause of their migration, the

other because existent prejudice has limited their education and opportunity to advance, impels the majority of them to confine their economic activity to physical labor, and to accept lower wages and less desirable working conditions than the native majority group will assent to. If employment opportunities are sufficient to allow all groups to work, the solution imposed by the dominant group will tend to be the restriction of the minority groups to the less satisfactory and less rewarding positions while the established laborers themselves hold down the occupations of greater prestige and monetary compensation. When jobs are scarce, however, the greater appeal of the low wage demands of minority groups is too often met by attempts to have them excluded from all employment except that in which members of the dominant group do not wish to engage. Whether the attempts are successful or not, the fears engendered by threats to job security suffice to foster hatred of and prejudice toward the competing group.

The prevalence of group prejudice in economically underprivileged areas unhappily does not signify the exclusion of prejudice among groups engaged in business or professional activity. If Negro skilled workers in the South are discouraged, so are Negro shop owners. It was a reputable periodical in the field of psychiatry which recently proposed editorially that racial quotas be imposed on entrants into that vocation "to prevent its dominance by one group," and it is medical and dental schools which have already installed such systems with similar intent.

The fact that some economic competition is more hypothetical than real does not lessen its impact on the imagined competitors. This is most pathetically illustrated in the bias exhibited toward each other by the variant racial and cultural groups receiving governmental relief assistance. Each group disdains the other, expresses belief that the claims of the other are treated more promptly and with greater consideration, and that the claims of the other are fraudulent while it itself is genuinely in need.

The economic struggle (or in the Marxian phraseology the normal workings of the capitalistic process) is instrumental in creating the psychological setting necessary for prejudice. Antagonisms and frictions, tensions, insecurity

and fear are inevitable accompaniments of the clash between economic classes. Marxists conclude that only elimination of class struggle can terminate the operation of prejudice.

Less rationally linked but even more violent in its expressions is the functioning of an alien group as a scapegoat, to explain either personal economic frustration or national failure of economic policy in a manner more pleasing than the admission of one's own impotence or error. The individual who has failed to advance observes a member of another group make progress. His rival's superiority as a competitor could not be responsible; it must be the deviousness of his race or religion. The nation in the throes of a depression sees members of a minority group still prosperous. All members of the group are obviously involved in an international conspiracy to drain the nation's gold into their own pockets.

These reactions to competition or economic difficulties are all responses which might be anticipated as resulting from the natural workings of the human mind, as influenced only by social tradition and indoctrination. It has also been suggested, however, and not alone by those calling themselves Marxists, that prejudice is not an uninstigated phenomenon but an imposition from above, an infliction by labor's exploiters so that they may with greater facility wreak their will on those they exploit. Whether seen as a policy of the management of a single industrial enterprise toward its employees or as a weapon in the hands of the dominant class in the great struggle for power between proletariat and bourgeoisie, prejudice is viewed as deliberately fostered in a careful plan to divide and rule. The great numbers of the proletariat ensure their ultimate victory if they consolidate their ranks and unite in warfare on their true enemy. Therefore, if you are the bourgeoisie, spread confusion in their ranks by raising false issues of physical and cultural differences, prevent their unification, and divert them from their true purpose of storming the walls of capitalism into squandering their strength in the intensive battles of prejudice. Since as the ruling class you possess the full power of the state, you are able the more fully to accomplish your aim because as everyone knows the state is an instrument of class oppression by those in power over those not in power.

On a humbler scale, the nurturing of prejudice among your workers will aid you, as the management, in warding off their importunate demands. If labor unites it will hold sufficient power to force its claims upon you. Therefore instill prejudice in the incumbent labor group against the employment of members of minority groups, and against their payment on the same wage scale. Hold these minority groups as a reserve labor force in case the incumbent group should threaten a strike to support its demands. Prevent the spirit of cooperation from developing among these groups so that one will not respect the picket lines of the other, and will not see that its interests are tied up with the other. The critics of the industrial system can unfortunately cite too many instances in which extraordinary measures were in fact adopted to prevent a coalition of labor groups by appeals to hatred and bigotry.

Industrial prejudice need not exist solely between members of the same economic level. Entrepreneurial desire for cheap labor, coupled with the psychological need never to think ill of oneself, have promoted the doctrine of differing racial capacities as an ease to the conscience of the exploiter. Some races are by nature fit to lead and give orders, others to follow and do as they are told. Some races are in need of a high standard of living, others need only a low one and would not know how to manage a wage scale with an excessive gap above the amount necessary for living on a subsistence level. Payment of low wages is therefore the only proper policy.

The Role of Industrial Provocation

The charge that racial and ethnic antagonisms are deliberately produced and carefully maintained by industrial management in the waging of an exploitative policy is a serious one, since if universally true or true to a significant degree it implies the correctness of the diagnosis of a basic incompatibility between management and labor and rejects the possibility of cooperation. It substantiates the imputation of a link between capitalism and fascism, reviving the once popular definition that fascism is indeed "the last outpost of capitalism." The friends of private industrial ownership will do well therefore to consider whether the accusation is just, and to make

known the results of their findings to the public at large.

That an employer who profits from discord should encourage its development appears a sufficiently reasonable inference. Although we have thus connected the suspect with the crime through a plausible motive, economic self-interest, we are not ready to secure his conviction until we have shown that he has actually performed the deed, and that he did not have equally impelling motives which would militate against a policy of instigation.

We may offer in his defense the observation that management does not in fact invariably attempt to cause disputes among its laboring population. Many plants have instead an active policy of reducing labor antagonisms and of promoting undisturbed labor relations. Just as enlightened management realizes that the proper policy pertaining to labor costs is not to keep them down in an absolute sense but in relation to production (so that an increase in labor costs which results in equal or greater increase in production is fittingly considered profitable), so it realizes that prevention of internal labor animosity may be more profitable than the regarding of labor as the enemy, an injury to whom is *ipso facto* a benefit to management. Work stoppages resulting from labor objections to the employment of alien groups are costly to production. If antagonism between incumbent labor and new groups attempting to break in should result in the actual exclusion of these groups from the labor market, not only would a labor supply be kept away which was required to meet the needs of business but likewise the cost of labor as it is affected by the size of the labor market would be altered in a direction unfavorable to management. Prejudice may therefore work against the interests of the so-called exploiters. Moreover, whatever its past policies, management at the present time combats strikes less by the use of strikebreakers than by a reliance on the consequences to labor of a prolonged layoff without pay. It is therefore an anachronism, a reference to largely outmoded methods, to attribute great importance to the management's desire for a reserve of lower paid labor in order to hold them as a threat over the heads of potential strikers.

If the management of all enterprises did not

incite group antagonisms but all antagonisms were incited by management, this would still be a serious indictment of management policy and of management's role in national activities. In practice, however, many labor antagonisms are aroused which are not provoked by the employer, and even when the employer has attempted to foster good relations. The violence of the manifestations of prejudice is similarly more intense than is necessary to prevent labor unity. This may be a matter of inability to control the zeal with which the policy of prejudice is pursued once it is inaugurated, however.

Even assuming management engaged in a policy of inducing prejudice among labor groups, whether in a correct or mistaken belief that this served its interests, the reason the policy is successful must be evaluated. The laborer must be previously susceptible to the incitement for it to take effect. To show that provocation by management has been present does not signify that without this provocation prejudice among labor groups would not exist. Little inducement is needed for the incumbent labor group to see the disadvantages of competition more clearly than the advantages of unity, and to express their fear in hatred.

To assume that prejudice is a function of class struggle would imply that in the absence of class struggle prejudice will disappear. Evidence suggests that, on the contrary, prejudice may well exist in a classless society, not only in Russia, which proclaims itself the epitome of such a society, but among primitive groups which more closely resemble this ideal. Soviet legislation directed against dissemination of racially derogatory statements apparently speaks well of government intentions, but the need for it indicates that prejudice, like the state, has failed to wither away according to schedule. Recent signs of anti-Semitism in Soviet dominated countries, moreover, raise serious doubts as to the sincerity of Communist intentions to suppress prejudice.

It is difficult to understand as well how the concept of prejudice as an imposition from above may be reconciled with the existence of prejudice among members of the upper economic class. Social restrictions are imposed upon members of the same economic class but of different racial or ethnic groups—exclusion from residential districts, social clubs and acti-

vities, and marital arrangements, *inter alia*. When the bourgeoisie exhibits prejudice what higher class is the imposer?

The actual instances of management instigation of group antagonisms among employees cannot be gainsaid by arguments as to why they should not occur. They should not be allowed by continual repetition to obscure the greater frequency with which they do not occur and are actually diligently combatted, however.

Testing Economic Determinism

The dictum that a phenomenon so complex as prejudice may not be attributed to any single determinant which would by assertion so neatly relieve us of our problem of ascertaining the sufficiency of economic factors as cause, unfortunately runs counter to the best modern sociological thinking. True enough the proclivity of certain schools to ascribe to economic considerations the prime moving force in all areas and activities inclines us to cast doubt upon its application once more to the field of prejudice. The agglutination into a causal system of all factors associated in some manner with prejudice, so that a multiplicity of causes are cited, cannot be allowed to pass as a substitute for a clear evaluation of the precise role each factor actually plays in the production of prejudice, however. We must separate those causes which produce the equilibrium which is the *sine qua non* for prejudice from those whose presence or absence, given the equilibrium, produce the display of prejudice.

It is therefore improper to cite the need as a prerequisite for groups which are internally similar and externally different, for what we are interested in is whether, hypothesizing the stage as set for prejudice, economic factors in themselves, and economic factors only, will produce prejudice.

We have already seen that racial and ethnic differences may exist without attendant prejudice. Whether the prejudice would come to fruition was attributed by the economic determinists to the introduction into the situation, or lack of introduction, of economic competition. Unhappily for these theorists, instances may be found in which prejudice exists although economic competition does not. The Chinese in the United States confines his economic activities to well-defined spheres, yet prejudice against him is rampant in the minds of those

who engage in entirely dissociated activities. The Japanese farmer may compete with White labor on the Pacific Coast, but inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast where he is located in negligible numbers vent their distrust of him. Prejudice is exhibited toward the entire group and not merely to the portion of it which competes, although it may be objected that this is brought about by a psychological process of association.

Economic competition may also exist and not be followed by antagonisms. Members of the same racial or ethnic group indeed are more likely to compete, since their cultural patterns and training are similar, yet the internal conflicts are less sharp than those with members of a differing group who are not competing.

If prejudice may exist without prior or simultaneous economic factors, what factors will account for it? Social disorganization may account for prejudice, producing a scramble for places in the social hierarchy. Political considerations may be involved, as when the ruling class feels its continued dominance threatened by the advance of a minority group, or seeks to divert into other channels popular discontent with established rule. Psychological factors may account for prejudice, as when, for any of a variety of reasons, the need of an individual to feel superior leads him to view members of other groups as inferior.

It has been claimed that alleged racial antagonisms are in reality facades for attempts to eliminate economic competition. We may question now whether the reverse may not at times also be true, whether an appeal to prejudice ostensibly based on economic reasons may not conceal, for example, a more significant political foundation. When the same group charges the body of Jews with being international bankers bent on the destruction of the working class and with being the leaders of the communist movement ambitious to exterminate the upper and middle classes, in part the discrepancy may be explained as the residuals of accusations made at different periods to fit different circumstances. In part also, however, the incompatibility of economic charges must indicate that the interest of those who make the charges is not primarily to impede the alleged economic harm they decry. That they center these charges around an economic base suggests that

they believe economic considerations are of great importance in the minds of those to whom the appeal is made. Those who make the appeal use this interest to further their plans in other fields, perhaps the retention or the winning of political power.

We cannot see, in addition, why the scapegoat function of prejudice must be associated with economics. Frustrations of individual ambitions in any field of endeavor, be it social advancement or military victory, are likely to call forth the need for a victim on whom to cast the blame. Frustration may be economic in character, but need not be.

Even were there not sufficient evidence to indicate that, although economics and prejudice are frequently associated, each may and often does exist without the other, we would be reluctant except upon the strongest substantiation to conclude that men are so bound by economic interests that no other consideration may influence their actions. Otherwise those countless instances of cooperation between racial and ethnic bodies, passing largely unnoticed because of the quiet nature of the relation, must be ascribed solely to the lack of economic motive for the exhibition of bias rather than in a positive manner to the possession of genuine humanitarian impulses. The freedom of men to choose a course of action is not so severely restricted as the economic determinists would have us believe.

Evaluation and Implications

It would be unfortunate if the correction of a tendency to overestimate the role of economics in the causation of prejudice should result in the opposite propensity to depreciate its significance. A demonstrable relation exists between the intensity of prejudice and the extent of economic competition, and even where economics has not been the originating cause, when introduced it seems to magnify and develop antagonisms generated by other influences. Prejudices fashioned by non-economic causes are most readily manifested in economic restrictions. These other causes are themselves not to be set apart as entirely unconnected with economics. Psychological tensions and contests for political domination are inextricably bound up with economic factors, which may therefore affect prejudice covertly as well as directly.

What must be guarded against is the facile

assumption, which we have shown to be mistaken, that no instance of prejudice may exist independent of the agency of economics, and the blanket accusation of premeditated instigation of prejudice by industrial leadership with the intent of depriving labor of a fair share of its earnings. The numerous instances to the contrary should receive more attention than they presently do. A complementary and superior method of altering opinion would be actually to increase and extend management programs for the fostering of good inter-racial and inter-ethnic relations among its employees.

What does the delineation of the role of economic factors in causing group antagonisms mean in terms of discovering methods of alleviating or eventually eliminating prejudice? Our examination indicates that an improvement in economic conditions, more closely approaching full employment, will result in corresponding melioration of social relations. Reduction in unemployment and business competition will reduce real and imagined threats to the economic welfare of incumbent groups. Those prejudices which find their origin in other than economic causes will be affected at best only indirectly, however, so that alterations in economic circumstances, although desirable are scarcely sufficient.

The conviction that prejudice cannot be cured until economic problems are fully solved is unduly pessimistic. This feeling may even be stultifying in its effect on proposals for remedying prejudice, since it implies the ineffectuality of non-economic corrective plans. We may reasonably expect to lessen prejudice by easing the specific points of potential friction and tension. Educational activities, wisely pursued, may well operate to reduce those fears based on ignorance and deliberately inculcated misinformation. Incumbents may be aided to prepare themselves for the introduction of new groups by the utilization of anti-prejudice group pressures. Should advances continue in the application of group therapeutic techniques, a diminution of those psychological tensions which precipitate manifestations of prejudice may be affected. These proposals are to accompany economic measures, needless to say, and not to substitute for them.

If it were held that economic competition was the sole cause of prejudice, it would follow

that the elimination of such competition was the sole means of overcoming prejudice. Even assuming this elimination were capable of being effected, the desirability of pursuing such a course would be questionable. The improbability of any such elimination actually taking place in the foreseeable future leads to the

alternate predictions that either (a) no diminution in the extent and intensity of prejudice will occur or that (b) the diminution will occur as the result of the application of non-economic as well as economic remedies. An examination of the role of economics in prejudice suggests that latter as the safer prophecy.

The Geopolitics of Spain

By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

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On September 26, 1953, the United States and Spain signed a defense agreement whereby Spain abandoned her traditional policy of neutrality, which had kept her outside two world-wide conflicts in this century by granting the United States the right to use a number of Spanish air and naval bases for the defense of Western Europe and the Mediterranean. The accord extends for ten and possibly twenty years. The step was purely geographical from the standpoint of Washington. Despised and much criticized, Spain was to participate in the defense of the Western world.

After eighteen months of meticulous, not to say difficult, negotiations, accords were signed on September 26, 1953, which gave the U.S. the right to use naval and air bases in Spain in exchange for economic and military aid. The Alliance plugged a gap in the western defense structure—a gap which would assume alarming proportions if the Soviet army overran France. In March, 1946, the U.S. joined with Britain and France in a public condemnation of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's totalitarian regime, accusing him of having collaborated with the Axis during the war, and urging the Spanish people to get rid of him. Now, five years later, American military leaders made an ally of Franco in the light of the Russian menace. But Britain and France felt just as much distaste as ever for the Spanish dictator; they emphatically rejected suggestions that Franco Spain should be brought into the North Atlantic Treaty, citing the preamble of the treaty, which calls for safeguarding freedom "founded on the

principle of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." Moreover, Britain and France did not want to see American military aid spread any thinner than it was then. Finally, there was the lingering suspicion that American military men envisaged Spain as a last ditch stronghold in case the Russians overran Europe.

Negotiations were not easy, and were started during Truman's regime, although it was also Truman who denounced, on August 3, 1951, the Senate's action in ordering the inclusion of Spain in the Marshall Plan with a \$100,000,000 loan. In September, the United States gave up a moral issue for a military necessity. Like a drunkard who gulps down all other kinds of rotgut but points with pride to the fact that he does not drink Old Whoozis, America since the World War has dealt with all kinds of undemocratic governments around the globe, but had always refused to have anything to do with little Franco. Its officials were viewed with a stern and righteous air. But the Russians changed all that. Just before he died of a heart attack in Naples on July 22, 1951, the late Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, made basic arrangements for a formal agreement. The United States, after months of seeking the support of Great Britain and France, finally dismissed their protests bluntly and went ahead with its plans; Washington, in fact, found it a little hard to understand why Great Britain—which has had no compunction about dealing with Communist China in the Far East—should show such delicate scruples about Franco in Europe.

The September 26, 1953, agreements cover (1) the construction and use of military facilities in Spain by the United States; (2) economic assistance; and (3) military end-item assistance. Under the terms of these agreements, Spain became eligible for U.S. economic, technical, and military assistance under the Mutual Security Program, and the United States was authorized to develop, build, and use jointly with Spanish forces certain military airfields and naval facilities in Spain for a period of ten years, automatically extended for two successive periods of five years each unless terminated previously by either government.

In return for its share in the "joint utilization" of the bases, the U.S. agreed to furnish \$226 million in the current fiscal year for the modernization of the Spanish armed forces and for related assistance, including the improvement of the Spanish highway system.

Although the agreement did not mention the location of the bases, it was understood that the United States would proceed with the development and construction of four major airports—two in southern, one in central, and one in northern Spain—and of naval facilities in two harbors. One of them is expected to be Cartagena, considered by the U.S. Navy as a valuable base because of its natural defenses against enemy attack, and the other Cadiz, on the Atlantic coast. (Other locations may be El Ferrol, Valencia, and Mahon, which is in the Balearic Island; Madrid, Barcelona, and Sevilla were suggested for air bases.)

GEOGRAPHIC BACKBONE

In general, Spain is a broad plateau sloping to the south and east and crossed by a series of mountain ranges and river valleys. Less than ten miles from Africa at the closest point, Spain is separated from France by the Pyrenees. Most of the coast is steep and rocky with few indentations. The best harbors are on the Galacian coast in the north, and on the broadest coastal plain on the Gulf of Cadiz in the southwest. The Guadalquivir River in the south is navigable to Seville, but the others, because of their need to cross mountain terrain, are of great importance for water power. (Hydroelectric stations account for 75% of Spain's generating power, and the abundance of water-

power in the northern Basque provinces, for instance, has made possible the great growth of the paper industry.)

Spain is an agrarian country—although there are extensive nonarable areas. The principal land uses are for grain, potatoes, pulse, sugar beets, oranges, grapes and olives. There are immense orange groves in compact masses from the mouth of the Ebro to the valley of the Segura. In Valencia, the orange groves are especially dense and produce almost half of the total output of Spain. Olive trees grow in Andalusia where the olive oil industry is very important. Spain exports great quantities of oranges, lemons, almonds, filberts, raisins and other subtropical fruits. Wine production is also important. Barley, wheat, oats, rye, and rice are produced in large quantities. Spanish forests yield lumber, pine resins, cork and esparto. More than 100,000 persons work in the fishing, canning and related industries. Sardines, tuna fish and cod are important catches.

The country is rich in minerals, but there is need for exploitation. But Spain has the distinction of being the first in Europe to produce the most lead; she is also a great silver-producing country—and only Mexico can equal her today. In Almaden, Spain has the richest deposits of mercury in the world. Mineral salt is another source of wealth; in addition, Spain produces coal, potash, iron, zinc, iron pyrites, phosphates, manganese, cobalt, sulfur, and gold.

Industrially, Spain has been progressing to a remarkable degree. The lead has been taken by the textile industry, including the production of chemical fiber for textile purposes; it is concentrated in Catalonia and employs over 300,000 workers. The production of electrical goods, thanks to better utilization of increased electric power, has grown tremendously in recent years. Naval construction has been expanding; the merchant fleet reached 4,000,000 tons in 1950. Spain has great hopes for the development of the oil industry.

Spain is one of the great producers of paper in the world; the bulk of the paper industry is in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. Tolosa has six factories; the proximity of the port of Pasajes and an abundant supply of water power, makes this the ideal region for this production.

GEOPOLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF SPAIN IN HISTORY

Historically, the strategic unity of Spain and Portugal has always been demonstrated, although the geological accident cuts off Portugal from the high Spanish tableland, together with geographical and historical factors. The Iberian Peninsula, historically, has not been a causeway for passage for other parts of the Continent or its outlying isles, such as Great Britain; "it has been more a *cul de sac* for overflows from Europe and incursions from Africa than a bridge between the two continents."¹ The country's terrain, her high central tableland, her maze of sierras and the Pyrenees have prevented the formation of any routes between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, or between North Africa and the European continent. Spain's principal rivers either flow back into the Mediterranean or southward and westward in the opposited direction from Europe. The military traffic on the Mediterranean between North Africa and Spain has been almost entirely one way—the invaders stopping when reaching Spain. As the ancient Carthaginians and later the Arab-Berbers invaded from Africa so during the Civil War did the Axis invaders come from North Africa.

But the development of air power has changed the situation; long range airpower has made Spain an important way station between the two continents. It is also an auxiliary springboard in long-range air operations.

THE ROLE OF SPAIN IN U.S. "OUTER DEFENSES"

The U.S.-Spanish document of 1953 goes far to secure the safety of the Mediterranean, which is most of Africa and the highway of Southern Europe. Now the whole Northern shore of that vital inland sea has been linked, in one form or another, in a defensive alliance, guarded by ships and air bases and by a substantial ground force. The structure of Mediterranean guarantees is complex: Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Great Britain, and the United States are joined in NATO: Yugoslavia has less formal ties with members of this combination and now Spain is brought in solely by agreement with the United States. There are sources of friction, too, within the combination, since Franco's Spanish government is far from popular with several of the NATO nations. Italy is at odds with Yugoslavia and the unresolved problem of the Arab peoples on the southern coast

of the Mediterranean presents possible difficulties. It is not surprising that differences should exist among the diverse nations concerned in the Mediterranean basin; what is remarkable is that the Soviet threat should have been seen so clearly and met by such a high degree of cooperation. As matters stand now, the foundation has been laid for a distinct threat to the flank of any Russian advance into Western Europe—a threat that, indeed would be poised over the strategic Russian Black Sea region, should the Red Army be unleashed in aggressive war. Then, too, if Russia should make a successful thrust toward the English Channel, American and Spanish forces beyond the Pyrenees would be a serious obstacle to the conquest of the Continent.

AIRFIELDS

Before the agreement was signed, U.S. military had civilian experts make the following survey for the rebuilding and expanding of the existing facilities in the Spanish military airfields: Valenzuela, five miles from Saragossa in Northern Spain; Torrejon, 15 miles from Madrid in Central Spain; and El Coper and Moron de la Frontera, near Seville in southern Spain. The Valenzuela and Torrejon airfields have single concrete runways. At El Coper and Moron de la Frontera the planes land on grass. The factors that determined the final choice of the major bases for operational heavy jet bombers included the following: easy access to supplies; the four sites already have adequate systems, such as roads and railroads but these will be improved; good geographical location and climatic conditions for the operation of the aircraft. The airfields can be approached easily by U.S. aircraft and would be comparatively easy to defend against enemy attack. The areas in which they are situated are sufficiently large for the construction of extensive installations, including fuel and ammunition depots, supply sheds, and barracks for crews. The nature of the soil is satisfactory; it has a deep rocky bed capable of withstanding the weight of the heavy bombers. The airfields are near large Spanish towns, which will provide relaxation and amusement facilities for the crews.

THE U. S. MEDITERRANEAN FLEET AND SPAIN

Since it began operating in the Mediterranean, soon after World War II, the 6th Fleet has relied on a method of service and supply like

that used in the Pacific campaigns. All of its fuel, food and other supplies are from the "train" of auxiliary vessels steaming with the fleet—tankers, cargo vessels, refrigerator ships, and repair craft. Because the "train" must get its supplies back in home ports of the east coast of the United States, this means a "pipeline" of 1,500 miles must be maintained. It supports more than 30 ships, the majority of which are combatant vessels, including a 45,000 ton carrier, a 27,000 ton Essex Class Flattop, 3 heavy cruisers, at least 20 destroyers, a submarine and the support and supply ships. Flag ship of the fleet is the amphibious command ship *Mt. Olympus*. Aboard the ships are a total of about 23,000 men, including a reinforced battalion of Marines.

One of the tasks of the fleet is to provide ample naval air support, based on carriers, for the group troops under the NATO. Whatever fighter and attack planes carriers could send inland would be valuable additions to the air strength of land-based aviation of the NATO countries. Moreover, the fleets of the NATO stations and their carriers can be ready to move to Eastern Mediterranean areas beyond the ground defense lines of the Western European forces. Should Greece or Turkey or Yugoslavia be attacked, carrier forces could bring swift help. The importance of Spain is therefore strategic because of naval bases on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and facilities for air striking forces thousands of miles nearer to Soviet production centers than American sites can offer. The distance from Barcelona to Moscow is, for example, only about 1,900 miles. American ships will use the Spanish ports for refueling and making repairs, and then slip quickly into the Mediterranean or the Atlantic to search for Soviet submarines. Spain will also provide a good supply base; materials could be unloaded in comparative safety in Spanish ports, and sent to other European or African areas of operations.

SPAIN IN GLOBAL STRATEGY

Above all, the American pact with Spain is a precautionary measure, a taking out of insurance, to keep the Mediterranean open and the Russians out. Spain dominates the twelve mile wide passage of Gibraltar. The Allied invasion of North Africa could not have suc-

ceeded if Hitler had sent his army through Spain and closed the Strait of Gibraltar. Should the Soviets try to smash across France at the Iberian Peninsula and slip the bolt of Gibraltar gateway, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy and most of the Middle East would be cut off from the American support and would be lost. Additional advantages will be provided by the Spanish ports, where units of the American Sixth Fleet will be able to be repaired or replenished; and these ports are reasonably out of reach of the Soviet tactical air force. Airfields south of the Pyrenees will partly compensate for the possible loss of airfields elsewhere, and they will be useful alternates for strategic bombers operating from the bases in French Morocco. The alliance means, therefore, more defensive depth for Europe, setting up of rear-guard defenses for keeping the Strait of Gibraltar open and the Sixth Fleet operational in the eastern Mediterranean within effective striking range of southern Russia and the Balkans.

The Soviets are well aware of the value of the agreement, featuring it as "Spain: a Yankee Colony," and insisting that it is "creating new hotbeds of aggression" and that "world public opinion is aware of the purpose of Washington's bargain with Franco . . . The vigilance of the peace supporters inspires confidence that the sinister designs of the enemies of peace will not be realized."²

From the total global point of view, Spain now forms a link in the three main Eurasian flanks guarding the Western world against Russia and her satellites: the Malayan Peninsula and its Indonesian extension; the Scandinavian Peninsula and its extension toward the American continent by way of Iceland and Greenland; France, Spain and Portugal, with island extensions and ramifications in the Balearics, Madeira, the Canaries and the Azores. From the point of the airman here is a very large "flat-top", which would allow the dispersion of bases, and thus the need for the Soviet air force to disperse itself to knock all of them out. Furthermore, Gibraltar has air-base facilities of the first order, and the river port of Seville, and the neighboring seaports of Cadiz and Huelva on the Atlantic around the corner from Gibraltar will offer the use of air and naval forces in conjunction. This wide "Flat-

top" has its extension in Portugal on the tip of the Peninsula and the Azores Islands.³

GEOPOLITICAL REALITIES VERSUS IDEOLOGIES

Until very recently, the world liberal and leftist press, both in Europe and America, carried on a systematic and well directed campaign against Spain, using the occasion to discredit the Franco government. A large part of this campaign was provided by the Communist papers, and was also aimed at fortifying the exiled Spanish republicans and preparing the way for positive action. But the American government has learned several geopolitical lessons in recent years. Let us remind ourselves

of such lessons as Turkey joining the Allies only a day before Hitler's downfall, or the abandonment of the "corrupt" Chiang Kai-Shek to the Communist forces. Fortunately, the United States will be just as realistic about the need of Spain as it has about Turkey, and it will not repeat the China mistake on the edge of the Mediterranean.

¹Lawrence Fernsworth, "Spain in Western Defense", *Foreign Affairs*, XXXI, 4 (July, 1953), pp. 648-662.

²A. Letnev, "The Washington-Madrid Pact", *New Times*, No. 41 (October 10, 1953). See also the map of "Spain-American Base", in *Ibid.*, and Y. Kalugin, "Wall Street and Spain", *Ibid.*, No. 43 (1952), pp. 29-31, reviewing the anti-American book of Felipe M. Arconada, *Espana Colonia Yanqui*, (Mexico, 1952).

³Lawrence Fernsworth, "Spain in Western Defense", *Foreign Affairs*, XXXI, 4, (July, 1953), pp. 648-662.

Indigenous Religions in the United States

II. Mormonism

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The almost-miraculous success of the peculiarly American religion popularly called "Mormonism" makes an inquiry into its origins both necessary and useful. Along with Unitarianism (although Merle Curti calls this faith "only a watered-down version of deism")¹, and Christian Science—Mary Baker Eddy's triumph of mind over matter—Mormonism represents one of the principal fruits of indigenous religious innovation.

A search into the background of Mormonism is an investigation into the forces of American history. Likewise—since Mormonism originally was a frontier religion—it offers an evaluation of the culture complexes and mores of frontier society.

On April 6, 1830, at Fayette, in Seneca County, New York, Joseph Smith, Junior, being then twenty-four years of age, together with five others, instituted the "Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints."² This date, we are instructed, was precisely eighteen hundred years after the death of the Messiah and hope for His early second coming soon became doctrinal within the organization.³

At another day the founding of such a church might have been considered more extraordinary.

However, the times then were ripe for the religio-socio-economic structure which the Saints soon began to erect. Ever since the Great Awakening American evangelism had been igniting the frontier by revival and camp meeting. Social doctrine filled the air, and the call of land—cheap land in the West—was a magnet both to Americans and Europeans.

Emerson, soon to participate in his own Utopia, had just written to Carlyle, "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket."⁴ And with what truth! For the religious reflex of dying commerce and rising industrialism was quite comparable to the great religious movement that had accompanied the rise of capitalism in Europe in the day of the Reformation.⁵

Hand in hand with religious enthusiasm went the new social doctrines which had already led to the evolution of the Rappites, the Shakers, and the New England Unitarians. Indeed, the very church of the Pilgrims had been attacked and overthrown as early as 1801 by Unitarianism—this most liberal of creeds.⁶

As Puritanism itself "had determined not only conceptions of theology and church govern-

ment, but political aspirations, business relations, family relations, and the details of personal behavior" many of the new creeds tended to be economic and social as well as religious.⁷ Out of the backwash of decaying Puritanism arose a curious medley of faiths and sects. There were the Agrarians, Icarians, Friends of Universal Prayers, Harmonists, Anti-Masons, Amanians, Seventh Day Baptists, Quakers, Shakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Transcendentalists, Unitarians, "Pilgrims," Grahamites, Campbellites, Millerites, Spiritualists, Separatists, Perfectionists, Mormons, and—in Southern Ohio—even the followers of a "Leatherwood God," who ruled, it seemed, by groans and snorts.⁸

Thus, if it is true (as Kauffman alleges) that "religious forms are the spiritual results of the economic conditions prevailing at the time of the religion's beginning and that religious practices are modified by the modifications of the economic conditions that prevail during the religion's existence,"⁹ then the ferment of the thirties in America furnished a fertile soil for religious innovation.

Conditions abroad likewise were conducive to a welcoming of the missionary spirit. "In England economic pressure continued to urge the working class toward a frame of mind that would readily accept promises of earthly ease in a new land."¹⁰ Following the Panic of 1825 religious unrest appeared as it so frequently does in correlation with economic instability. "Just when thousands of Englishmen were in the throes of economic troubles . . . and just when emigration was becoming popular, Joseph Smith was to send to them from his American Zion missionaries who would promise their converts a land flowing with milk and honey."¹¹ All this, indeed, and heaven too!

The changing culture of the early part of the nineteenth century had produced an economic oppression in the crowded centers of population that needed free land in a new country that likewise had brought forth new creeds. Under such conditions—when ideas of social reform were becoming rife, when great communistic, non-religious movements were sweeping the country, when religious communistic societies were demonstrating that they might be able to produce success—Joseph Smith, almost on the crest of the wave, stepped forward and present-

ed what he claimed to be a *revelation from God* concerning the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the people.¹²

It must be noted that the very geography of central New York State, out of which Smith now arose (although having been born in Sharon, Vermont), was suitable to the promulgation and dissemination of the new religion. The finger-lake region, lying as it does athwart the best land route into the interior of the United States, was in 1830—by virtue of the newly completed Erie Canal—on the mainline between East and West.¹³ Although in a more limited sense, the area resembles the great Palestinian crossroads of Asia, Africa, and Europe out of which sprang the great world religions. And, added to the geographical position of the upstate region—and directly because of its frontier nature—it was popularly known as the "burnt over" district, having been swept by incessant religious revivals since the day of Jonathan Edwards.¹⁴

Probably for this very reason Smith's new system was highly eclectic. Thinking to disparage it Alexander Campbell, founder of the "Disciples of Christ," wailed: "He decides all the great controversies: infant baptism, the Trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, the fall of man, the atonement, transubstantiation, fasting, penance, church government, the call to the ministry, the general resurrection, eternal punishment, who may baptise, and even the questions of free masonry, republican government, and the rights of man."¹⁵ And why not? These were frontier vexations, and—as a frontier product—the eclecticism in Mormonism gave an opportunity to fix, with a degree of certainty, the answers to the perplexities of the day. For it was to be revealed from on high in 1830 that ". . . no one shall be appointed to receive commandments . . . excepting My servant, Joseph Smith, Junior, for he receiveth them even as Moses."¹⁶

Within Smith may have been mingled not only a desire to enhance his status but a sincere wish to provide an authoritarian frame of reference which would bring stability out of the chaos which he and others faced. In a sense Mormonism provided not only a challenge to the times but also to the individual who still stood in darkness. In such an enterprise which promised both material and spiritual salvation,

Peter Skene Ogden—writing from Utah many years later—perceived a peculiar attraction.

It is hard to conceive by what inducements so many thousands of reasonable men and women could have been prevailed upon to leave their comfortable homes and fertile lands for this wild adventure except, indeed, the spirit of enterprise which seems to be inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race, and which rejoices to meet and overcome every difficulty, is sufficient to account for it.¹⁷

Thus, when accepted without prejudice, Smith's "United Order" deserves to be mentioned along with Plato's "Republic", Moore's "Utopia," and Owen's "New Harmony", as an attempt to provide a more complete system of social relations.¹⁸ To accomplish his purpose he asserted that the "Church of Jesus Christ" had again been established with the "rock of revelation" as the new foundation. He claimed that the "everlasting truth" had again been disclosed, and to him alone. Proponents of Mormonism maintain that this philosophy lives and thrives because within it are the "elements of thrift" and the "forces of life."¹⁹

A great deal in non-Mormon literature deals with the putative character of Joseph Smith, Junior, the founder of Mormonism. Reliable records suggest that—from boyhood to manhood—the "prophet" had not always led an exemplary life. In his autobiography a candid admission is made that in his youth he "had been led into divers temptations, to the gratification of many appetites offensive in the sight of God."²⁰ Whether this be the whole truth or an understatement, to judge the merits of a strong and virile religion on such a basis may well be considered a *non sequitur*.

Yet the *Book of Mormon*—as Smith called his "revelations"—had a most curious origin. According to his own testimony, it was on the twenty-first of September in the year 1823 that he received his first heavenly visitant. "I discovered a light appearing in the room, which continued to increase until the room was lighter than at noonday, when immediately a personage appeared at my bedside, standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor. . . He said that there was a book deposited, written on gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent . . . [and] that the fullness of the everlasting gospel was contained in

it."²¹ Appearing again that very night, the spirit most strictly cautioned Joseph that he was not to try to get these plates for the purpose of getting rich.²²

Strangely enough it seemed that God's purpose was to keep the plates unrevealed for four more years. So it was not until September 22, 1827, that Joseph was commanded to take them from their secret location in the Hill Cumorah, near Palmyra, New York.²³

Although these golden plates were inscribed—says Smith—in "reformed Egyptian" there was provided in the same receptacle what he described as "Urim" and "Thummium," unusual jewels, set in a silver bow, whereby the characters might be translated into the contemporary language.²⁴

Having proceeded to Harmony, Pennsylvania, the home of his wife, Joseph set to translating. With the aid of Emma, Oliver Cowdrey, a local school teacher, and Martin Harris, a Palmyra farmer, who had furnished him with expense money, the translation went forward. The usual method was for Smith to retire behind a curtain where he is supposed to have peered at the plates through the Urim and Thummium and then announced the English version of this ancient story to his amanuensis seated at a table in the center of the room. According to the "prophet" many physical difficulties attended the translation of the great work.²⁵ However, he also tells us that it had been God's warning that "his [Smith's] name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindred and tongues; or that it should be both good and evil spoken of among all people."²⁶

A further "revelation" suggested the method for his next action:

For behold, the field is white already to harvest; therefore whoso desireth to reap, let him thrust his sickle in with his might, and reap while the day lasts, that he may treasure up for his soul everlasting salvation in the kingdom of God.²⁷

The translation finished and the copyright secured in the name of Joseph Smith, Junior, "Author and Proprietor", it was time to be about the business of the harvest.²⁸ But first there was the matter of testimony since it had been commanded that the angel of the Lord should return the golden plates to their secret hiding place. Nevertheless, it was now reveal-

ed that they should be exposed once more to the eyes of Oliver Cowdry, the scribe, David Whitmer, a nearby farmer who had befriended Joseph during the period of translation, and Harris, who had guaranteed to defray the cost of publishing the book by placing a mortgage on his farm. According to Smith: "Martin Harris, David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdry, and myself, agreed to retire into the woods, and try to obtain by fervent prayer the revelation . . . when presently we beheld a light above us in the air, of exceeding brightness, and behold an angel stood before us. In his hand he held the plates . . . [and] turned over the leaves one by one so that we could see them and discover the engraving on them distinctly."²⁹ At another time this experience was granted to eight other "witnesses," who also drew up their testimony as having seen and "hefted" the golden plates.³⁰

The "history" revealed by the plates most certainly was unique. For therein was recorded a curious story that purported to be both an elaboration of Jewish legend and an account of the earliest inhabitants of the American continents. But let the "prophet" here speak for himself:³¹

We are informed by these records, that America, in ancient times, has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed, about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians, who now inhabit this country. The book also tells us that our Savior made his appearance upon this continent after His resurrection; that He planted the gospel here in all its fulness and richness; and power, and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessings, as was enjoyed on the Eastern continent; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their pro-

phets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, etc., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible, for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days.

Since 1830 controversy has raised grave questions concerning the authorship of the *Book of Mormon*. The first attack came in 1834 when E. D. Howe of the Ohio Western Reserve published an account which suggested that Smith was indebted to a manuscript written by the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, of Conneaut, Ohio, which, it was alleged, told a similar story.³²

Other accounts maintained that the *Book of Mormon* was written or adapted from the Spaulding manuscript by the Rev. Sidney Rigdon, an ex-Campbellite preacher of northern Ohio. To some this seemed the more plausible, Rigdon joining the church very soon after it had been organized.³³

Another story has Parley Pratt, another early convert, as the mediator between Smith and Rigdon—a third party to a conscious deception.³⁴

There is no substantial proof for any of these theories, attractive as they may seem on paper.

Riley, in a psychological study of Joseph Smith and Mormonism, comments that the book "bears the traces of the hand of a citizen of the United States. [In Smith's narrative] there was no privileged class; slavery was unknown. . . . Salaried judges were elected for life or during good behavior, the election being probably *viva voce* by acclamation. They had to take an oath of office. . . . The people had the right of petition. Death was inflicted for murder and treason only."³⁵

Smith's personality has been variously evaluated—a late interpretation has him beginning as a charlatan and ending in deceiving even himself.³⁶ Under these circumstances the book becomes a product of transitional epilepsy or conscious fraud.

Probably the best solution to this problem is to consider both Joseph Smith and the *Book of Mormon* as products of the New York frontier of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.³⁷ Thus, "the moving power of Mormonism" becomes a fable; Smith is purely a Yankee product; and a great deal that was thought to be

good in American folklore is to be found in his works and in his church.

When the *Book of Mormon* is considered as the vehicle for the carrying out of Joseph Smith's plans for a new social and economic order its sense becomes manifest and the familiar observations that it is but "a monument of misplaced energy" or "chloroform in print" become quite debatable or even reflective of the mental processes of their authors.

Interwoven into the "history" of the lost tribes are to be found the social, economic, and political theories of Mormonism. Undoubtedly "their peculiar religious organization aided in cementing their social cohesion and made them more susceptible of ecclesiastical control."³⁸

The Mormon way of life is simply described in the writings of "Nephi", a "prophet" whose record constitutes one of the fifteen "books" of the *Book of Mormon*.³⁹

And it came to pass in the thirty and sixth year the people were all converted unto the Lord, upon all the face of the land, both Nephites and Lamanites and there were no contentions and disputations among them and every man did deal justly with one another. And they had all things in common among them; therefore, there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but all were made free, partakers of the heavenly gift. . . .

It may be noted that the Kirtland, Ohio and the Missouri plans for communal living known as the *United Order* could well be based on the foregoing. Moreover, *Acts* 34, 35 presume a similar sharing of wealth.

In politics the antecedents of the progressive government of the early twentieth century might have been contemplated. "Mosiah"—another "prophet"—tells us:⁴⁰

And now if ye have judges and they do not judge according to the law which has been given, ye can cause that they be judged of a higher judge. If your higher judges do not judge righteous judgments ye shall cause that a small number of your lower judges should be gathered together and they shall judge the higher judges, according to the voice of the people.

This arrangement suggests likewise the Mormon ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Under the impact of the times—the ending of the first stage of the Industrial Revolution in

England and the transition from commercialism to industrialism in the United States—the demand for security and equalitarianism became urgent. Another writer believes that these circumstances were largely responsible for the growth of Mormonism. "A new economic order, in which industrial equality predominates needs a strong welding force to knit the people together and hold them to their course, particularly through the early stages of transition. . . ." ⁴¹ He is speaking, of course, of the Mormon "United Order."

Smith, through the words of the "prophet" "Alma", scripturalizes this problem:⁴²

Yea, he saw great inequality among the people, some lifting themselves up in their pride, despising others, turning their backs upon the needy and the naked and those who were hungry, and those who were athirst, and those who were sick and afflicted.

And it is the viciousness of class control in a body politic that is the occasion for a warning which is found in III Nephi:⁴³

And the regulations of the government were destroyed because of the secret combinations of the friends and kindreds of those who murdered the prophets.

While some maintain that this constitutes an Anti-Masonic tirade, it is viewed by others as a prophecy of the death of the "prophet" Smith, doomed to be assassinated at Carthage, Illinois, in the summer of 1844. Probably it was merely intended as a commentary on the evils of factionalism in government.

Because of their close-knit political, economic, and social viewpoints the "Saints" early became unpopular with the Gentiles—non-Mormons. Driven successively from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois a haven of refuge was found on the shores of the Great Salt Lake.

Upon the death of Joseph Smith leadership had devolved upon Brigham Young—another Vermonter—and it was he who led the exodus from Illinois to "Deseret," later to be called Utah. After months of bitter hardship the company finally reached the Wasatch—a tangled mass of mountains, canyons, ridges, and gorges. Winding through gorges, crossing and re-crossing mountain streams, Emigration Canyon at last appeared. It lay over a steep bluff, the sides of which the Mormon scouts climbed.⁴⁴

There, on the twenty-second of June, 1847,

"silent upon a peak in Darien," the Saints first viewed their Canaan. Young, having been brought up to the party, was raised from his sickbed. "This is the place", he said.⁴⁵ Surely in this remote fastness the principle of continuous revelation would be secure.

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¹ Curti, *Growth of American Thought*, p. 531.

² Smith and Smith, *History of the Church*, p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴ Quoted by Phillips Russell in *Emerson, the Wisest American*.

⁵ Kauffman and Kauffman, *The Latter Day Saints*, p. 7; Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, *passim*.

⁶ Allen, *Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement*, p. 149.

⁷ Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁸ McNiff, *Heaven on Earth*, p. 10; Geddes, *The United Order*, pp. 19-20; Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 14; Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies in the United States*, *passim*.

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The Personality of the Social Studies Teacher

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Next to the pupils, the teacher is the most important factor in the classroom. This is true because it is the teacher who determines to a great degree whether the child will like or dislike school, will have learned significant subject matter, developed desirable study habits and acquired worthy traits of citizenship. It is the teacher who directs or fails to direct the learning situation in the classroom. The level of achievement in any classroom varies in direct relationship to the performance of the teacher.

Under the direction of a capable teacher, a pupil will like school and he will advance in learning. Moreover the influence of that teacher will not be confined to the classroom walls but will overflow these bounds. Furthermore the influence will not be limited to one generation but will filter down through time. Every school boy can recall some teacher who exerted a very powerful and wholesome influence on him. Some pupils have studied under teachers who will long be remembered. Certainly the children of Gilmore City, Iowa, can never forget the example of courage and devotion displayed

by Mrs. Elma Edgington who led all 215 pupils from a burning school house and then perished in the flames when she returned to the burning building a second time to make sure none of her pupils had remained behind.

On the other hand, a poor teacher will fail to arouse the interests of her pupils. Many times she will cause them to hate school and fail to realize their individual capacities. One can well imagine the influence of a 275 pound married teacher who had a stiff knee, was unable to flex her wrist, was condemned as a "fire hazard" by her school board and who was absent 556 days, about three teaching years, and was tardy 724 times during her 33½ years of "service."

Although some maintain that scholarship and professional education are more important, it is agreed by many that personality is the most important essential for a successful teacher. Teacher education institutions are aware of the importance of personality and frequently are forced to deny student teaching privileges to individuals who have marked personality deficiencies. Public school officials

are ever alert to personality characteristics when employing teachers, and educational writers have filled pages dealing with the subject. It is generally recognized that teacher personality is difficult to define. Most discussions are concerned with manifested traits. Personality resembles electricity, its power can be felt although it is incapable of being perceived.

What traits do administrators desire teachers to possess? Two often-quoted studies of teacher traits have been made by Charters and Waples and by Barr and Emans. The Charters and Waples study¹ was published as a part of the Commonwealth study which was released in 1929. These authors prepared a list of 25 traits which were judged to be most important by competent critics of teachers. Forty-one administrators, 27 teachers, 14 parents, 10 pupils, 3 representatives from teacher agencies and 2 professors of education were interviewed to determine the traits which are most essential for success in teaching. Those 97 individuals explained the meaning of each trait by giving examples of activities through which it was expressed. This produced a list of 2,800 actions. These actions were then translated by 21 judges who stated what traits were displayed by each action. Traits were then defined and standardized by consulting four dictionaries. By this means, 83 were defined. These 83 were eventually telescoped into 25 groups. Then an evaluation of the traits was made by a group of 25 administrators for senior high school, junior high school, intermediate grades, kindergarten-primary, and rural school teachers. Each administrator indicated the ones he considered most important, least important and of average importance for each of the five types of teachers. The six most common traits for junior and senior high school teachers are presented.

Junior High School

- Good judgment (discretion, foresight, insight, intelligence)
- Self control (calmness, dignity, poise, reserve)
- Considerateness (appreciativeness, courtesy, kindness, sympathy, tact, unselfishness)
- Forcefulness (courage, decisiveness, firmness, independence, purposefulness)

Magnetism (approachability, cheerfulness, optimism, pleasantness, sense of humor, sociability, pleasing voice, wittiness)

Leadership (initiative, self-confidence)

Senior High School

Breadth of interest (interest in community, interest in profession, interest in pupil)

Good judgment (discretion, foresight, insight, intelligence)

Self control (calmness, dignity, poise, reserve, sobriety)

Leadership (initiative, self-control)

Scholarship (intellectual curiosity)

Forcefulness (courage, decisiveness, firmness, spontaneity)

Barr and Emans made an analysis of 209 teacher rating scales used by state departments, departments of education in universities, and used in cities of more than 25,000. Forty-six states were represented in the data analysed. The authors proceeded by copying each separate item of each scale on a 3" x 5" card, one item on each card. Then those items which were identically worded were grouped together. There were 200 such groups with five or more cards in each group. These 200 group headings were then used to classify the 2,950 items not yet classified. Three individuals, working independently and later in conference, assigned the 2,950 items to the established group headings. After the data had been assembled into tables, the authors compared their findings with the findings of Charters and Waples and discovered that "cooperation, magnetism, attractiveness, breadth of interest and considerateness" were the traits most frequently mentioned in rating scales. "Thrift, forcefulness, and openmindedness" were least mentioned. Among their conclusions, Barr and Emans state that they were "impressed by the great variety of terms used to characterize teaching and teaching ability. . . . One also gets the impression . . . that teaching is an exceedingly human task, the social and personal traits surpassing both in frequency and consistency of mention all other traits enumerated in the study."²

What qualities do pupils desire teachers to possess? So far only the traits considered important by administrators and professional educators have been considered. But what are the traits which pupils consider important?

It is perhaps more important to know pupil reaction to traits of teachers because it is recognized that pupils learn more effectively when they are surrounded by satisfying and favorable elements.

Superintendent Light of Barberton, Ohio, had pupils rate their teachers and express judgment on what to them were the characteristics of good and poor teachers.³ The superintendent prepared directions to be read in the home rooms. After these directions were read the pupils were given an opportunity to rate their teachers.

Besides rating their teachers, the 900 pupils were asked to answer two questions:

1. What qualities, in your judgment, should a good teacher possess?

2. What qualities, in your judgment, make a teacher poor?

In reply to the first question, the pupils listed the qualities which a good teacher should possess. The fifteen most commonly mentioned qualities, listed according to frequency, were:

Good disposition, kindness, patience, cheerful, control of temper

Impartial

Ability to explain clearly

Discipline

Knowledge of subject

Fair in marking

Sense of Humor

Helps pupils out of class

Understands high school boys and girls

Knows how to interest pupils

Honest in all her dealings, keeps her word

Good judgment

Good personality

Has school spirit

Clear and definite in assignment.

The fifteen most frequently mentioned qualities which, in the opinion of the pupils, made a teacher poor were:

Partiality

Unpleasant disposition, quick temper, etc.

Lack of discipline

Poor explanations

Lack of knowledge

Lack of humor

Indefinite assignments

Talks too much

Nags pupils

Too strict

Faultfinding

Does not take care of own discipline problems

Poor English

Poor voice

Does not recognize effort.

A similar study was made by Jersild⁴ who discovered that children varied somewhat from school level to school level in their opinion of desirable teacher characteristics.

High school boys and girls believed the five most important characteristics to be: (1) "taught, explained well, pupils learned much; (2) kind, sympathetic, considerate; (3) interested in, liked, and adjusted to pupils as persons; (4) discipline effective, respected, consistent; and (5) interesting, resourceful, enthusiastic as teacher." The five least desirable characteristics according to these same high school youth were: (1) "discipline, rigid, too strict, inconsistent, poor; (2) cross, ill-tempered, cranky; (3) unkind, unsympathetic, ridicules; (4) too much home work; and (5) partial, had pets."

Working with the "Quiz Kids" radio program, Witty⁵ secured 14,000 letters from school children in grades 2 to 12. These children described the traits of the teachers whom they thought helped them most. From these letters he compiled the following list.

Cooperative, democratic attitude

Kindliness and consideration for the individual

Patience

Wide interests

Personal appearance and pleasing manner

Fairness and impartiality

Sense of humor

Good disposition and consistent behavior

Interest in pupil's problems

Flexibility

Use of recognition and praise

Unusual proficiency in teaching

On the basis of these studies, it would appear correct to assume that a teacher should supply interest, demand a reasonable amount of work, give praise where praise is due, explain subject matter clearly, be just and fair, maintain good discipline, possess magnetism and a pleasing disposition, have good judgment, self-control, and enthusiasm.

While most readers probably would agree that these traits are desirable, the more critical

will wish to question the results of these studies. Have some of the authors started from the false premise that a principal knows a good or a poor teacher when he sees one? Can pupils identify good teachers? Do some of the studies approach this problem of identifying desirable characteristics from the standpoint of a popularity contest? Do pupils learn more from teachers who possess "desirable" traits? Should all teachers be expected to have these traits? If so, how may teacher training institutions make sure their products possess them? Other questions might be added. Suffice it to say, the problem of identifying the successful teacher still remains. To date we have expressions of opinions on what constitutes a good teacher.

Sometime in the future we must secure more pertinent data on the relationship between learning, on the part of the pupils, and the personality and preparation of the teacher.

¹ W. W. Charters and Douglas Waples, *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

² A. S. Barr and Lester N. Emans, "What Qualities Are Prerequisite to Success in Teaching?" *The Nation's Schools*, VI (Sept., 1930), 60-64.

³ U. S. Light, "High School Pupils Rate Teachers," *The School Review*, XXXVIII (January, 1930), 28-32.

⁴ Arthur T. Jersild, "Characteristics of Teachers Who Are 'Liked Best' and 'Disliked Most,'" *Journal of Experimental Education*, IX (Dec., 1940) 139-151.

⁵ Paul A. Witty "The Teacher Who Helped Me Most," *Elementary English*, XXIV (October, 1947), pp. 345-354.

Rotten Boroughs in Today's British Parliament

RALPH B. GUINNESS

Boroughs and Counties constitute the unit or district for Parliamentary representation, each electing one member. In some cases two small Boroughs, or two small Counties, constitute one district, while in others an exceptionally large Borough or County is assigned additional members on the basis of towns, villages or geographical sections such as North and South. The size of a district depends on the total number of eligible voters in each Borough and County, not on the total adult-child population as is the case in the United States.

This traditional representation by Boroughs and Counties means that there are many small-sized and large-sized districts. Since each elects one Parliamentary member the larger ones are under-represented and, as the majority, have but minority representation. This situation is comparable to, but not as undemocratic as, the "Rotten Boroughs" of the early 19th Century. The Reform Bill of 1832 abolished those inequities, but subsequent legislation has created new ones.

For example, in the 1945 Elections, one-half of the districts ranged in size from 25,000 to 50,000 eligible voters, and the other half from 50,000 to 100,000 with a few ranging as high as 147,000.

These unequal sized districts were greatly changed by The Act of 1948 which merged many small sized districts, but were not altogether eliminated. The boundaries of 80 districts were left untouched. The Act also reduced Parliament from 640 to 625 members. It abolished the business vote, the 12 former University districts and the 12 former double member constituencies, distributing them into single seats.

These new districts, at the time of the October Elections of 1951, varied greatly in size, constituting new "Rotten Boroughs." There were 50 districts containing from 70,000 to 80,000 eligible voters; 203 with 60,000 to 69,000; 246 with 50,000 to 59,000; 158 with 40,000 to 49,000; 15 with 32,000 to 39,000; and 5 with 27,000 to 28,000.

Since England has the bulk of the population, it has the greatest number of Boroughs and Counties, or Parliamentary districts. Excluding the 43 London Boroughs, there are 463 English Boroughs and Counties of which there are 409 districts with voting populations ranging from 40,000 to 69,000 as follows:

Eligible Voters	English Boroughs	English Counties	Total
40,000-49,000	45	54	99
50,000-59,000	92	93	185
60,000-69,000	70	55	125
	207	202	409

These unequal-sized districts are not as discriminatory against majority populations as those prevailing before 1832 and in 1945. Nor are they as disproportionate and as unfair as are our Congressional districts based on an unpublished study for representation in 1946. At that time 62% of our Congressional districts were too large or too small in relation to the virtual legal norm of 280,000 persons per Congressman. Many districts consisted of 200,000 or less while others had 350,000 or more. In some cases there were districts of 400,000, 500,000 and 600,000 persons with a few others of 900,000 each electing one Congressman as did those of 200,000 and less. One of the latter category had only 70,000 persons. In all cases the very large districts were urban ones. As far as is known, this condition has not been corrected within the states, although Congress after the 1950 Census redistributed the number allotted to various states owing to population changes since 1940.

Equality in the size of districts in the United States or in the United Kingdom could be obtained in any one of several ways. For example, Parliamentary districts could be equalized periodically every ten years by disregarding the boundaries of Boroughs and Counties to create equal sized districts; or Parliamentary members could be elected at large throughout the three kingdoms and North Ireland with each party receiving a number of representatives proportionate to its popular vote in each of these four divisions.

The results for the Special General Election of October 1951 show that the Labour Party was not repudiated, since it increased its popular vote over that of 1950. It lost its majority in the Parliament owing to district changes made by The Act of 1948, which it had passed, and by the fusion of other parties with the Conservatives. The latter party made a greater increase in popular votes than Labour in 1951 over 1950, owing to the addition of votes of National Liberals and Liberals on fusion tickets with the Conservatives. On a straight party vote, the Conservatives won 293 seats and Labour 295. Liberals and Conservatives, and National Liberals and Conservatives, ran fusion tickets, supporting one candidate, in 58 districts. They were successful in only 18 contests. These, with the single National Liberal who ran independently, and the 9 Ulster Unionists, gave the Conservatives a total of 321 seats for a majority of 17. The Opposition had 304 votes: 295 Labour; 6 Liberals; and 1 Irish Labour and 2 Irish Nationalists (all three from North Ireland).

A Fifth Grade Unit on Colonial History

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Problem: What should be taught to fifth grade pupils about the Colonial Period in American History?

Direct Aim: To teach the founding and growth of our thirteen American colonies with specific reference to the following areas:

The reasons for settlement.

The government.

The economic life.

The religious and social life.

Recreation.

Indirect Aim: To develop an interest in read-

ing historical novels, biographies and autobiographies.

Content and Procedure:

VIRGINIA COLONY

(an example of a Southern Colony)

Reasons for settlement

Introduction:

"We are now going to study the Colonial period of our American history. It lasted from 1607, when the first permanent English settlement was made at Jamestown, Va., until the Revolutionary War. There were 13 of the permanent settlements, and they became our first 13 states. We remember that Raleigh's failure was due to the fact that one man alone could not afford to start a colony. Thus some English Companies saw a chance to start colonies in America. In order to better understand these settlements, we should always try to place ourselves in the position of the actual settlers that came to our country. If you had been a member of the Virginia Company, would you have decided to try to come to America along with Capt. John Smith? If so, why? (Pupil-teacher discussion).

Some points to emphasize:

Some people wanted to find gold as the Spaniards had already done.

Many people in England were out of work at the time.

Some people were seeking adventure and glory.

The company made it easy for men to start a new way of life in America.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Pupils will be divided into committees with one committee to bring in most interesting reports they can find about the various reasons for the settlement of any Southern colony.

2. A second committee will present oral or written book reports from such books as: Baily, *Children of the Handcrafts*. Viking Press.

Curtis, *Little Maid of Virginia*.

Lamprey, *Days of the Colonists*. Stokes.

Leetch, *Tommy Tucker on a Plantation*. Lothrop.

Power, *Boys and Girls of History*. McMillan.

Smith, *Made in America*. Knopf.

(Additional material available in the main branch of the Newark Public Library.)

3. Map drawing, by a third committee.

4. A fourth committee will work on the construction of Williamsburg houses, model plantations, etc.

Government

Introduction:

"Besides making plans for keeping alive, the Virginia settlers had to make some rules to live by. If you had come to Virginia as a settler, what kind of government would you have wanted, and tried to get?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

King chose a governor for the colony.

Large plantation owners were members of the governor's council.

Poorer planters were allowed to vote for representatives for the assembly.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Pupils list experiences that the class has had in choosing representatives.
2. Pupils will draw diagrams of the Virginia government, as well as the Newark school system government.

Example:

	Governor	
		Council
Assembly		Representatives
	People	
	Superintendent	
Asst. Supt.		Asst. Supt.
Principal		Principal
Teachers		Teachers
Children		Children

Economic Life

"You remember that the early Spanish and French exploring parties and Walter Raleigh's colony had a hard time getting food. If you were one of the early Virginia settlers, how would you have made a living and tried to increase your wealth?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

The soil of Virginia could not produce enough grass.

Climate and other factors favored one crop, such as tobacco.

Tobacco wears out the soil very quickly.

Need for additional help to care for the tobacco crop.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Special pupil reports on growing tobacco in early Virginia.
2. Drawing pictures of tobacco plantations or a large mural of a plantation scene.
3. Newark Public Library pictures of the economic life in early Va.

Religious and Social Life

Introduction:

"You already know that the planters of the large plantations lived comfortably, but actually most of them were not wealthy men. If you were living in Colonial Virginia, what might you have in your home?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

Large planters had houses built of boards with a chimney at each end.

Smaller planters had houses with only one room.

Most of the furnishings were homemade, such as feather beds, blankets, longtables, etc.

Large planters later sent to England for pewter dishes, mirrors, carpets, books, tools, musical instruments, etc.

Planters went to the Anglican church.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Play phonograph records of the minuet.
2. Students draw pictures of household scenes.
3. Pupils dress dolls to represent Southern ladies and gentlemen and indentured servants.
4. Pupils examine Newark Museum exhibits of planters, children and indentured servants.

Recreation

Introduction:

"While taking care of a plantation meant a great deal of work, the people living in the South have always been known for their hospitality. If you were living in Colonial Virginia, what kind of good times do you think you and your family would have had?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

Planters were fond of horse racing.

Fishing and hunting were good sports.

Large crowds went to cockfights.

All neighbors helped in building a barn or a new house.

Many outdoor picnics.

Christmas lasted a whole week.

Visiting was the favorite pastime.

Dances and balls were quite frequent.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Dramatizations of original plays dealing with life in Williamsburg.
2. Drawing of large mural showing a typical ball with fancy costumes.
3. Visit to Newark Museum to see authentic costumes and scenes from Colonial Virginia.
4. Writing of class letters to get pictures and other information concerning the restoration of Williamsburg.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

(an example of a northern colony)

Reasons for settlement

Introduction:

"From any map you will notice that the land in the north is hilly, except in the river valleys, and there is no wide coastal plain. The soil must be thin, and most of it stony. Then, you would probably ask, why should people want to leave England and come to settle in such an area?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

Not all the people in England wanted to separate from the Church of England as the Pilgrims did.

Those who wanted to make the English church service more pure and simple were called Puritans.

Puritans wanted to keep Sundays very strictly religious.

The king did not want to let the Puritans control his church.

The Puritans were better off than the Pilgrims, because many of them were men of education and they had property and servants.

The Puritans formed the Massachusetts Bay Company and decided to move to America. This was the first time that the members of a company themselves had ever gone to the New World.

In 1630 hundreds of Puritans set sail, and founded the town of Boston.

Since there was not enough land for all in one place, they began to scatter and by the end of the 1600's the Massachusetts Bay Colony had as many people as the rest of British America put together.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Oral and written reports, based on reading in various texts as well as story books, such as:

Barker, Dodd and Webb. *Our Nation Begins*. Pp. 204-8, 230-4.

Freeland and others. *America's Building*. Pp. 51-54.

Freeland and others. *How People Work Together*. Pp. 20-34, 44-51, 53-65.

Hanna and others. *Susan's Neighbors at Work*. Pp. 6-41, 108-119.

Knowlton and Gill. *When We Were Colonies*. Pp. 125-33, 139-143.

McGuire. *A Brave Young Land*. Pp. 195-198.

Rugg and Kruger. *The Building of America*. Pp. 103-108.

Thompson. *First Book of U. S. History*. Pp. 85-88.

Curtis. *Frontier Girl of Massachusetts*.
Curtis. *A Little Maid of the Massachusetts Colony*.

Perkins. *Puritan Twins*. (Houghton Mifflin)

Petersham. *Story Book of Corn*.
(Winston)

2. Map drawing by a committee.
3. Another group will construct models of colonial villages, stockades, etc.
4. All groups will be encouraged to secure pictures from the Newark Public Library, and models from the Newark Museum.

Government

Introduction:

"While the Puritans wanted to change the services in the Church of England, they found that the king did not approve of this idea. If you had been a member of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, what kind of government would you have tried to start in the New World?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

The Puritans did not give freedom of religion to any one but themselves.

They wanted to live only under the laws of God as given in the Bible.

When other religious groups tried to come into the colony they were whipped out of town.

Only church members were allowed to vote, and only those who were chosen could join the church.

Only 1/5 of the grown men were allowed to be church members.

Everybody had to go to the Puritan Church. Everybody had to pay taxes to support the Puritan Church, even if they did not belong to it.

Town officers were chosen with great care, and every citizen was interested to see that the rules were obeyed.

The rules were made at a meeting of all the men who had the *right to vote*.

The meeting was called the town meeting, and the minister was the most respected man present.

At the town meetings, laws were made about animals running in the streets, about allowing new members to live in the colony, about taxes, etc.

In a short time, there were 22 towns besides Boston, and each one had its own town meeting to manage its own affairs.

There were some questions that concerned all the towns, such as Indian attacks, what to do about the Dutch on the Hudson, keeping boats at the riverside, etc., so that the Massachusetts Bay Colony had to provide for some joint action.

Some representatives from each of the towns met in Boston to decide matters of interest to all the towns. They were an assembly, and this idea was patterned after the Virginia plan.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Pupils will practice self-government through use of "Good Citizenship Club," where officers and rules are all made by student participation under teacher guidance.
2. One committee will make a list of names of some of the officers in our city.
3. One group will make a map of Massachusetts, using dots to show where the town meetings were, and red crayon to show the territory that the assembly made laws for.

Economic Life

Introduction:

"When we studied the climate and topography of the land, we mentioned that in the northern colonies there couldn't be any plantations like those in Virginia. Therefore, if you had come as a settler to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, how would you have tried to make a living and increase your wealth?"
(Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

The main industry was farming.

In the spare time, many New England farmers earned money by cutting timber in the forests.

Others hewed out shingles by hand, for sale. Other men cut pine, cedar and spruce trees for use in building of sailing ships.

Some settlers bought a ship to use for fishing off the coast of Newfoundland.

Codfishing grew to be so important that a picture of a codfish was printed on all the government papers of Massachusetts.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. One group will draw pictures showing plowing and sowing seed.
2. Another group will make a picture collection of saw mills and mills for grinding grain.
3. One group will make a dictionary of new terms, such as sickle, scythe, furrow, etc., for class presentation.
4. Class mural of a typical New England village.

Religious and Social Life

Introduction:

"Starting a new life in America was a very difficult job. How do you think the Puritan children would spend their time on Sunday or during the week? If you had been a Puritan settler, what would you have done regarding religion and church services?"
(Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

Each colonial home was a little world in itself.

Every member of the family had to do his share, even the children, because the family's living depended upon each of them.

After the prayer and morning breakfast, everybody started to work.

In the summer, the farmer hoed his crops all day.

In the winter, the farmer cut down trees and dragged logs to the riverbank.

The boys of 10 and 12 did almost a man's work.

The girls worked with their mother learning all household tasks.

The chief meal was eaten at noon, and consisted of several kinds of meat and many vegetables, which were boiled in a huge iron pot.

In winter, they ate salt meat or frozen meat. The bread was corn bread during the earliest years.

Honey and maple syrup were the chief sweetenings.

Each man had to make his own carts and most of his own furniture.

The only light they had was a candle or a glowing pine knot.

The women had to do all the cooking, cleaning and sewing, and even help in planting and harvesting crops.

The women made soap, learned to salt and pickle meat, made preserves, cheese and butter.

Most of the dishes were made of wood—no forks, no china and no glass.

The women and girls did the spinning.

Most women were the only doctors for their family, and they learned how to use many herbs.

Families were fairly large—12 to 14 children. Colonial women had nothing to say about the affairs of the church.

The Puritan church service lasted most of Sunday, with serious discussions of religion.

The school building was made of logs, and the seats were wooden benches without backs.

Most common textbook was the New England Primer, and pupils of all ages were taught by one teacher in one room.

Recreation

Introduction:

"While the Puritans were very religious people, they also had some good times. If you were a boy or girl living in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, what kind of good times do you think you would have had?"

(Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

- The Puritans hunted and fished.
- After a log rolling or barn raising, they would stay for a party in the evening.
- Corn husking bees meant playing games.
- No dancing, no playing cards, no horse racing or smoking in public places.
- There was no theater.
- Thanksgiving was the great holiday of the year.
- Boys owned balls, marbles and tops, and played tag.
- Girls had dolls.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Oral and written book reports about Colonial children.
2. Dramatization of class plays dealing with different activities.
3. Exhibits of Puritan activities.

PENNSYLVANIA

(an example of a middle colony)

Reasons for settlement

Introduction:

"We have already learned about a colony for Catholics, some colonies for Puritans, and several colonies for people who wanted to better themselves in general. The Quakers are a very religious group of people. They do not believe in war, even to protect themselves. Also, they would not take off their hats as a sign of respect, even for a king. William Penn was a leader of the Quakers. Why do you think William Penn wanted to start a colony for the Quakers in America? If you had been a member of the Society of Friends, why would you want to leave England and come to the New World?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

- In England the Quakers were treated badly.
- The religious ideas of the Quakers conflicted with the king's opinion about respect and religion.
- The king owed William Penn's father a large sum of money.
- Granting William Penn a large tract of land would be an easy way to pay his debt to the Penn family.

Government

Introduction:

"If you had been a Quaker coming to Pennsylvania, would you have been willing to pay William Penn money for some land to farm on? Also, would you have been willing to have William Penn decide the kind of government that you should have?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

William Penn lived in Pennsylvania for several years.

Everyone was welcome, and William Penn did not exclude settlers with different religious points of view.

William Penn found it hard to give the people the kind of government they wanted, for the Quakers wanted to keep control themselves.

The colonists did not want to pay Penn a small rent for their farms.

They wanted to own the land outright, which led to many quarrels between the settlers and William Penn.

Finally the government was made up of the governor, a council to help him and an assembly elected by the people.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. A volunteer group will write out advertisements that Penn might have used to persuade settlers to come to Pennsylvania.
2. Oral and written reports dealing with the life of William Penn.
3. Another committee will deal with reports about the ideas held by the Quakers.
4. One committee will dramatize the meeting between William Penn and the Indians, in which Penn promises the Indians friendship.

Economic Life

Introduction:

"If you had been a Quaker coming to settle in Pennsylvania, how do you think you would have managed to make a living?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

Farming and dairying was done on a large scale.

Other occupations consisted of trading, shipping, fishing, mining and iron forging.

Pennsylvania grew rapidly because the colonists could easily buy supplies from their neighbors.

Fine commercial relations fostered by friend-

liness with the Indians helped Pennsylvania to grow rapidly.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Special pupil reports on the different industries found today, as well as during colonial times.
2. Drawing pictures of the village of Philadelphia.
3. Collection of Newark Public Library pictures, and Newark Museum exhibits dealing with the economic life in early Pennsylvania.

Religious and Social Life

Introduction:

"You have already learned that the Quakers had religious ideas which were quite different from those of the Puritans. If you were living in the city of Philadelphia during colonial times, what type of home might you have had?" (Pupil-teacher discussion)

Some points to emphasize:

William Penn promoted religious freedom and tolerance.

Leaders such as Ben Franklin inspired good citizenship and thrift.

Franklin helped to develop street lighting, fire fighting system, city planning, public library, etc.

Philadelphia had printed newspapers and magazines.

Houses in Pennsylvania were built of brick and stone, not very large, and of plain design.

They were scattered over a large area, and set far apart.

Subsequent pupil activities:

1. Volunteers to dress dolls in Quaker costumes.
2. Oral and written reports about the life and work of Ben Franklin.
3. One committee to read selections from Franklin's writings, such as "Poor Richard's Almanac."
4. One committee to draw "Checkerboard" plan for city.
5. Pupil-teacher discussion of selections from Whittier's poem "Quaker of the Olden Time."
6. Class dramatization of play based on the highlights of Ben Franklin's career.
7. One committee will prepare posters of some of Franklin's famous quotations.

TEACHING AIDS

Basic Text: Kelty, Mary G. *Life in Early America*. Ginn and Co., New York, 1950.

Other possible texts:

Barker, Dodd and Webb. *Our Nation Begins*. Freeland and others. *America's Building*.

Knowlton and Gill. *When We Were Colonies*.

Rugg and Kreuger. *The Building of America*.

Thompson. *The First Book of U. S. History*.

For pupil recreational reading (excellent references):

Bailey. *Little Woodsmen of the North*.

Holdberg. *Gloucester Boy*.

Freeman. *Captain and Mate*.

Meigs. *The Trade Wind*.

Tutt. *Fisheries*.

Filmslides, which can be used for summaries for obtaining overall picture of unit: Newark Dept. of Audio-Visual Aids (Complete descriptions of each in catalogue—also all selected for intermediate elementary vocabulary level)

"Early Settlers"

"Life in the Colonies"

"History of the U. S."—Part II.

Selected Motion Pictures which are essential for understanding of unit: Newark Board of Education.

"Capt. John Smith"—20 min. sound. Va. 1948.

"Colonial Children"—10 min. sd. Erpi, 1940.

"Puritans"—45 min. Yale, 1924.

"Art of Spinning and Weaving"—30 min. Harvard.

"Peter Stuyvesant"

Following exhibits must be used for complete comprehension of unit and are available to all Newark teachers from Newark Museum: Costume Figure—Jamestown man, 1607.

Model: Plymouth Stockade.

Northern Colonies:

Costume figures—Puritans.

Pine tree shilling.

Models of Blockhouse, Mayflower, etc.

Middle Colonies:

Costume Figures of Dutch Colonial Settlers and Quakers.

Models of Franklin's Chaise, N. Y. to Philadelphia Coach, Schoolhouse, 1784.

Southern Colonies:

Costume Figures of a Cavalier, Cotton Picker.

Colonial Life:

Samples of a Hornbook, Colonial Inkwell, Quill Pens, Sand shaker, School bell, Slate, Farm Equipment, Flail, Sap sprouts, Yoke, Model corn crib.

Additional sets of colonial exhibits:

Heating and Lighting—Candlestick
Bayberries—Bellows
Footwarmer and warming pan
Candle mold and candle snuffer
Colonial lamps.

Household utensils and furnishings:

Apple parer, Butter Mold, Miniature Chair.
China ware, Chopping bowl, churn.
Knife and fork, Mortar and pestle, Pewter jugs.
Door key, Candle, Hinge, Latch and Model Blacksmith.
Colonial spinning and weaving exhibits.

Coverlet, Flax spinning, Indigo, Loom, Patch Work Quilt.

Sampler, Spinning Wheel, Wool Cards.

Following materials may also be borrowed from the Newark Museum:

Coal exhibit.

Early American Road Chart.

Geographical Models of Coastal Plain, River Erosion.

Materials illustrating colonial life in Pennsylvania and neighboring colonies — dolls dressed in Dutch and Quaker costumes, material illustrating Indians and their way of life from the Eastern area of the U.S. Models of log cabin, loom and Morris Canal. Rocks, minerals and shells of the Atlantic coast.

From the Newark Public Library, the following can be borrowed:

Map collection of the 13 colonies.

Picture collection of the 13 colonies.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Dobbins Vocational-Technical School and The Junto Adult School, Philadelphia, Penna.

POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY

Shortly after Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected president of the United States, he stated that he was president of all the people, Democrats and Republicans alike and not only of the party which nominated him. Mr. Eisenhower's comment raises some interesting questions of both theoretical and practical political consequence. To whom is an elected official irrespective of what public opinion may be? issues that are controversial in nature? To the political party which nominated him? To all the people of the geographical district he represents? To his own sense of what is best irrespective of what public opinion may be? Should a Senator, for example be obligated to vote on legislation as his political party directs him? Is his position as senator one of leadership, wherein he decides what is right and best for his constituents and the country as a whole? Or, is he principally a delegate sent to Congress to carry out his constituents wishes, good or bad as they may be?

An excellent discussion of this very important subject appeared in the form of an interview between Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and the editors of *United States News and World Report*, in the November 19, 1954, issue of the magazine.

Senator Morse, as we know, bolted the Republican Party in the middle of the 1952 campaign and became an Independent. The interview explains his reasons for his actions in leaving the Republican Party and for his plans to vote with the Democrats in organizing the 1955 Senate. The editors of *United States News and World Report* asked some very fundamental and searching questions regarding Mr. Morse's philosophy, and he in turn gave some very penetrating answers.

One of the first questions asked of the Senator was why he didn't also resign from the Senate and become a candidate of another party. Mr. Morse stated that there is no historical precedent for that and he cited Senator

Norris of Nebraska as an example. Of more interest is this direct exchange;

Q. "You don't think that a man should resign and go to the people again?"

A. "Of course not. Your question is based upon the assumption that an elected official is the property of a party."

Q. "Well, if you go on their party ballot, aren't you?"

A. "Oh, not at all. When I was elected to office I became the Senator of every person in the State, including every person who voted against me as well as those who voted for me. I didn't become the property of the Republican Party. In all of my campaigns, I told the people of Oregon not to vote for me unless they were willing to send me to the Senate as a free man—free to exercise an honest independence of judgment on the facts as I understood them."

Q. "You don't think a man who is elected on a ticket of his party is obligated to his party?"

A. "He is obligated to his party but not obligated to stay in his party if his party goes wrong. His obligation is to the people of the State."

Q. "Then for six years the party in the State that might be the majority party would have no opportunity to vote on him?"

A. "Of course not. You mustn't forget that when the constitutional fathers worked out the plan of our legislative system, including the six-year term for Senators, political parties, as we know them, didn't exist. They were an after-thought. They were never devised to determine policy."

Q. "But the primary system has come in since, where there is a direct vote of the people. Doesn't that change the situation?"

A. "Not a bit."

One of the points hammered at by the questioners was that concerning Mr. Morse's decision to vote with the Democrats in the organization of the new Senate. The questions presented the view that Senate organization was principally a party matter and that having been elected on the Republican ticket Mr. Morse was morally obliged to vote with the Republicans. The Senator concluded that Senate organization was inextricably linked to legislation and since committee organization determines

legislation, he should be free to vote as he understands the issues.

On the very important question of party-loyalty Mr. Morse stated:

"I'm never moved by such emotional concepts as 'party loyalty.' I'm concerned only by what I think is right or wrong. I think you should vote for what you think is right or wrong, and that is the highest type of party loyalty."

The following exchange is noteworthy:

Q. "Do you still believe in parties, as such?"

A. "Sure I believe in parties. I believe in their historical purpose. But our party machines have perverted the original purpose of parties into policy controls. Our professional party leaders seem to think they own the elected representatives of a free people. That is not the right of a political party . . ."

Q. "If everybody believed in that, this country would be running off in all directions, wouldn't it?"

A. "Not at all. Do you know what you'd have if everybody did that? Remarkable unanimity in the Senate of the United States on a great majority of the issues. Let me say jokingly but half seriously that I represent the majority party in the Senate. The trouble is that all my members are members by suppressed desire. Time after time the majority of the Senate of the United States are with me on a point, but they are not free to vote with me."

Q. "What keeps them from being free?"

A. "Because too often they are committed. Too often they follow this whole idea of party-organization control. The party bosses dictate to them."

"I'll tell you the thing that controls them more than anything else, and when you get to the bottom of it you'll get to the bottom of the major cause of corruption in American politics—campaign contributions."

There followed then a very interesting exchange of views regarding seniority rights with respect to appointment of Senators to committees.

Some very enlightening bits of information are contained in these exchanges. The rest of the interview is devoted to Senator Morse's explanation of his views and actions beginning with his bolt from the party. The Senator

makes some very interesting comments about the 1952 presidential campaign. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the Senator, this interview makes very stimulating reading and touches upon some of the most fundamental principles of political democracy.

APPLYING THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD TO LAW MAKING

A singular approach to formulating and drafting laws has been adopted by the state of Israel. Concerned with drafting new codes of law in such areas as succession, crime, and domestic relations, the Israel Ministry of Justice called upon Harvard University for assistance. A full description of this "unique cooperative project" in writing a new legal code (reported in *Hadassah Newsletter*, October, 1954) was given by Joseph Laufer, Director, *Harvard Law School—Israel Cooperative Research*.

The project operates in the following manner:

Before the draftsmen of the Ministry of Justice formulate a new law, they often write or cable Harvard to find out whether similar laws have been enacted in other countries and how these laws work in practice. Israel has no intention to copy foreign laws, but she wishes to profit from the experience of other nations with legislation that has undergone the acid test of time and practice.

The answers to her inquiries may require extensive comparative legal research. This research is done at Harvard. If the task proves complex, help is often sought either from other members of the faculty or from specialists at other American law schools with which Harvard maintains close contacts. From time to time a number of experts in a special field are called into conference by the research project to discuss at length a particular bill.

Liaison between Harvard and the Israel Ministry of Justice is maintained by frequent reciprocal visits by the staff members of the project at Harvard and in Israel.

The suggestions drawn up by the research project are submitted to the Israel Parliament (the Knesset) for final action, before enactment into law. Actual experience has shown that:

In the light of the suggestions received

from the research project, from Israel critics and from the specialists attending the conferences, the bills have been modified. The revised Succession Bill has recently been submitted to the Israel Cabinet prior to formal introduction in the Knesset. Its text, along with notes, has been translated by the research project into English, and will shortly be distributed to interested readers. A similar procedure will be followed with respect to the Evidence Bill.

Commenting on the values of the whole undertaking to both Harvard and Israel, the director of the project wrote:

For Harvard Law School the main significance of this research lies in the practical experience with the legislative problems of a foreign country gained in the process. This experience will be valuable if similar programs should be undertaken on behalf of other nations that have gained their independence since World War II.

For Israel, its usefulness is not confined to the actual legislative services rendered. The English translations of the Israel bills and studies are evoking the interest of lawyers in many countries who for the first time read about Israel law and legal thinking. For the Israel judges and legal officials who come here, the research project provides stimulating contacts with American law, legal institutions and American lawyers. Through this project Israel's young lawyers and law students are alerted to the opportunities of graduate study in the United States.

The attorneys-general of Israel and of the United States spoke of the project in these words:

Mr. H. H. Cohen, Attorney-General of Israel:

It is the guidance which we have been receiving through the good offices of the Harvard Project from the leading and most outstanding law teachers and law makers in the United States, and, to a not lesser degree, the assistance which we have been deriving from the research work carried on by the men in charge of the project and the literature they put at our disposal, that have enabled us to produce a number of legislative proposals which have now received public

recognition in the United States as meritorious professional work.

Mr. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States:

This approach to a problem of such fundamental importance in the area of human relations is important. There have been instances of cooperative efforts in science, particularly in the development of means of destruction. It is hopeful that there can also be scholarly cooperation in creating means to enable men and women to live together in peace and confidence.

From this present effort, I have no doubt, new concepts may arise. They will take their place along with the many gifts which the legal minds of Israel have bestowed upon the philosophy of the law. I expect that the work at Harvard, when it is utilized by the Knesset, will carry in it the conviction that ultimate good and justice can be achieved through peaceful cooperation with neighboring nations.

MORE ON CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION COMMITTEES

The weekly magazine, *United States News and World Report*, October 22, 1954, reported the major portion of an article on Senate investigations which appeared in *Harper's* in 1936. The article was written by the then Senator and now Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black. Mr. Black's comments are interesting today for the following reasons.

1. It is a scholarly report on the role and importance of Congressional investigations as a government tool in planning and formulating new legislation.
2. It provides a good study in comparison between investigation twenty years ago and those of today. There is striking similarity in attempts at evasion of answers by witnesses. In those days a witness had recourse to "I decline to answer on advice of counsel." Today, as we know, a witness makes use of the fifth amendment.
3. It is historically significant in that it reveals that each age has its "villains" and "public enemies" which Congressional committees deem it necessary to expose.

Mr. Black's comments on the value and

function of investigation are still applicable today.

1. "They have formed the basis of some of our most important legislation."
2. "Investigations have saved countless millions to the people."
3. "Often great savings are effected by the very corporations and interests that are investigated."
4. "But most valuable of all, this power of the probe is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the people to restrain the activities of powerful groups who can defy every other power."

The issue in connection with Congressional investigations that is currently of great concern to all people involves the accusations that investigators frequently "bully and badger witnesses." It is significant that this same problem existed in 1936. Commenting on the "I refuse to answer on the advice of counsel" type of reply by a witness or the use of other evasive techniques, Mr. Black wrote:

This sort of thing taxes severely the patience of an investigator. It accounts often for what newspaper editorial enemies of investigations often refer indignantly to as the bullying and badgering of witnesses. The experienced examiner knows various methods must be used with different types of witnesses. After he has tried every technique, politeness, kindness, blandishments, coaxing, helping without effect, he is sometimes driven in the presence of a witness who is deliberately concealing the facts to attempt to shake it out of him with a more drastic attack.

It is a serious problem—getting the truth from an uncooperative witness. How to cope with it is a challenge to even a skilled investigator.

Some persons reading this last statement by Mr. Black might, perhaps find justification for the use of "bullying" technics on an evasive witness today. Other people might still raise objections against such treatment of witnesses on the ground that it infringes upon the basic right of the individual. The magnitude of the problem today is no less than what it was thirty-six years ago.

HISTORY TEACHING IN BRITAIN

We received from London, England, two

copies of *History*, Journal of the Historical Association, No. 134, October 1953. The Journal is of interest in that it permits a sort of inside look on what the Britishers are doing in the field of history-teaching and professional writing. The overall impression is that history is still taught as history in English schools. Another impression is that the coverage, although intense, is no less provincial than in our own country. The emphasis is on British history as it is on United States history in many of our secondary schools. The textbook advertisements that appear in the Journal, as would be expected, feature primarily areas of direct concern to the British. Some of the titles are interesting: "A Short History of Wool"; "The Castles of Great Britain"; "A General History of England"; "Tudor England." A few of the titles naturally deal with subjects of concern to England's foreign interests, such as: "A History of France"; "Soviet Empire"; "Canada: A Story of Challenge."

In this particular issue, three of the four articles deal with diverse aspects of British history, but all covering periods prior to the 1700's. The subject matter of the articles reveal an almost overconcern with the antiquated aspects of English life as indicated in the following titles: "The Pagham Estates of the Archbishops of Canterbury During the Fifteenth Century"; "Some Protestant views of Early British Church History"; "Parliament and Foreign Policy, 1689-1714." The fourth article on methodology, is devoted to "An Experiment In the Application Of an Environmental Study To The Teaching of History," in the John Gulson Selective Secondary School, Coventry. A direct quotation will give both the nature and the flavor of history-teaching in England.

As history master in the school I had noticed among the boys a love of the countryside which expressed itself in long cycle rides, in tracking, in scouting and in membership of the Youth Hostels Association. The boys in their essays had shown a keenness for map-drawing, sketching and the collection of pictures for the illustration of their theme. My idea was to provide the boys with a medium with an historical background in which their individual talents could be used and which would, at the same time,

direct powers of observation and their inquisitiveness towards an interest in local history and geography. I thought that a local survey combined a leisure pursuit with an educational activity and that in making a survey of a parish or a neighbourhood the boy would seek knowledge in his leisure hours. I believed that the boy with sketching ability would find pleasure in illustrating his survey; that the photographer would use his camera to effect; that the naturalist would look for specimens in the area; that the boy keen on history would delve more deeply into the story of the locality.

By bringing the boys into contact with a small village community, possibly one with which they were familiar, I hoped to foster the desire to discover for themselves how it had developed and how a study of its history would explain this. To this end a questionnaire was prepared to direct the boys' enquiries into the history of the neighborhood. This questionnaire was so wide that each boy would find some part of it to his liking. It was thought that in making the survey the boys would see the individuality of their village and that by their enquiry they would discover the part played by the community in the life of the nation in the past and the present and what part it is likely to play in the future.

In addition to the four principal articles, there were in the Journal items similar to those covered in American educational journals, namely: book reviews; short notices; correspondence; news notes, and a section on filmstrips. The comments on filmstrips are so well stated that we take the liberty to reproduce a major portion of them:

Historical filmstrips have come to stay. They will be seen by thousands of children who have learned to expect most films to be 'dramatic,' and will be used by some teachers who are not themselves primarily students of history. They are produced commercially and for profit. They are just as potentially dangerous as they are potentially valuable, and this reviewer will therefore now set down what seem to him guiding principles of general application:

A historical filmstrip should be prepared

and annotated by a person of historical training and expert scholarship.

Every frame should either be made from an authentic source—e.g. photographs of landscape, buildings, objects; reproductions of contemporary maps, plans, pictures; diagrams based on fact—or, if imaginative or hypothetical, should state this on the frame. 'Imaginative' frames should be few, and chosen with special care.

Good pictures speak for themselves. Comment should be objective, accurate, clear, pertinent and brief.

A filmstrip should normally have in view a specific kind of audience, and before publication should be tested on at least one historian, teacher and audience specially competent to criticise it. . . .

Every frame should have a visible brief title: maps and diagrams should not include too much; photographs should really illustrate, and eschew the merely picturesque.

The young, at whom so many filmstrips are aimed, do not need or wish to be written down to—"up with which they will not put."

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

Two pamphlets are available (free) from Board of Education, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. One is called "Films for American History in Sr. H. S." (Bright) And another one "Films for American History in Sr. H. S." (Slow). Both pamphlets list films and filmstrips that may be used by social studies teachers in their classrooms. Each pamphlet also indicates the distributors from whom the films and filmstrips may be secured. They are highly recommended since they were compiled by a curriculum committee of teachers.

FILMS

Tsetse Fly. 2 reels. 16 minutes. Sale or rental.

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Until recently the Tsetse fly has been a centuries' old dictator of Africa, holding in bondage an area of more than fifty times the size of Oregon. To man it brought sleeping sickness and to his animals it brought death. At the turn of the century Livingstone, in his trek across Africa, first recorded that his oxen died from the bite of the fly. Stirred by these and other records of explorers, David Bruce, a young Australian doctor, discovered the secret of the mysterious cattle-killer. Notable among other pioneers was Charles Swynnerton. His findings caused the British Government in 1925 to grant a quarter of a million pounds to develop the attack against the killer.

This film, after giving a brief background picture of the work of these pioneers, takes us to the anti-tsetse headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. Here we see under the overall direction of Dr. Lester, the modern scientific methods by which the battle is intensified each day. From the air, the spraying of a specially devised insecticide has proven highly successful. On the ground smoke bombs are used on a smaller scale. Other scenes show clearing the vegetation often proves to have a double advantage. In addition to ridding the land of the tsetse fly, it often actually helps to improve grazing land. Finally the discovery of Antracyde by the British is shown and how the injection definitely kills the dread germ. Though there is much to be done to rid Africa of the disease, the battle of the scientist goes on as he and the African native join in a combined effort to bring to fulfillment the promise of a rich, healthy and fruitful Africa.

JAMES RAILL, *Guest Reviewer*
San Francisco, California

Neighbors. 8 min. Color, Rental. C.I.O. Film Division, 718 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

This Academy Award short gets across a serious message with humor and imagination. The way wars develop is symbolically depicted in the story of two neighbors, friends until a flower grows on the borderline between their

properties. A petty argument over ownership of the beautiful, fragile flower develops into a violent fight in which they kill each other and destroy the flower. The surprise ending draws the moral "Love thy Neighbor."

Ben Franklin's Albany Plan. 1 reel. 9 min. Sale. Academic Film Co. Inc., 516 5th Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

This film is a re-enactment of the Albany Congress, in setting and characterizations, and portrays vividly the social and political forces of the time. The Albany Congress and Franklin's Plan are important links in the sequence of events in Colonial and American History, leading to the Revolutionary War of 1776 and the final freedom of the American colonies.

Star Gazers. 1 reel. 9 min. Sale. Academic Film Company.

One of the first great star gazers was Galileo Galilei of Florence, Italy, and in 1610 he was honored by the chair of science at the University of Padua. The film takes us to some of these huge eyes of science, and then reverts back to the famous trial of Galileo where, an old man, he is forced to renounce his theories of the revolution of the planets around the sun upon pain of death. Time and truth have made that trial a travesty on our civilization. We progress slow but surely, but such men as Galileo live far beyond the memories of their judges.

Gold and Men. One reel. 9 min. Sale. Academic Film Company.

In the days of Marie Antoinette, France found herself facing disaster—economic and social. In desperation the Queen sought the advice of the alchemist Cagliostro who was reputed to possess the secret of transmuting base metal to gold. With gold Queen Marie thought she could stop the tide of her crumbling empire.

The Schoolmaster. 2 reels. 20 min. Sale, rental. British Information Services.

Here is a vivid portrait of the daily life of a young schoolmaster in a small rural school in Scotland. His home, his work and how he helps his pupils and, incidentally, their parents with his guidance on their problems make for an absorbing character study.

Under the Surface. 2 reels. 20 min. Sale, rental. British Information Services.

With these words, begins an absorbing and

educational film story which describes the partnership between the British coal miner and the scientist, and how that partnership developed from explosion prevention to research into safety, welfare and production problems and, ultimately, to better methods of coal utilization.

FILMSTRIPS

Life Filmstrips, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., has the following series for sale.

1. *American Profile Series*, \$20.00 by subscription to series of four filmstrips.

The Capitol, Symbol of Our Nation

The Opening of the West

National Parks, America's Wonderland

American Transportation, Horseback to Jet

2. *America's Heritage Series*, \$8.00 for the set of four, complete with lecture guide.

Emerson's New England 65 frames

Connecticut River 62 frames

Houses, U.S.A. 58 frames

Theater: From Ritual to

Broadway 70 frames

Pan-American Partners. 60 frames. Black and white. \$2.50. Office of Educational Activities, *The N. Y. Times*, Times Sq., New York 36, N. Y.

The dominant theme of the filmstrip is the strengthening of ties between Americans of the North and Americans of the South that is forging a closely knit community in the Western Hemisphere. Historical background covers the Monroe Doctrine and Latin emergence from colonialism. It also puts proper accent on past U. S. policies that bred discord, the instability that marks Latin politics and the economic, industrial and social backwardness that retards full use of Latin resources.

Changing Americans. 60 frames. Black and white. \$2.50. *The N. Y. Times*.

The motif of this filmstrip is that the face of America is always changing although such change is always rooted in the tradition of individual freedom. It depicts the times when the home was the focal point of family life, children were by the dozen, the automobile evoked cries of "get a horse" and suffragettes were on the march. Emphasizing sociological change, the filmstrip moves through the shifting patterns of American mores and vocations

along such paths as our present industrial might, new concepts of leisure, the growth of the cities, the upsurge of service and specialized

occupations and the increasing role of women. In general it looks ahead to the sweeping changes that appear on the horizon.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Harmony Society: A 19th Century American Utopia. By Christiana F. Knoedler. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1954. Pp. xi, 160. \$3.00.

Miss Knoedler writes from the perspective of life-long residence in Economy (now Ambridge), Pennsylvania, the third and last settlement founded by the patriarchal German sectarian, George Rapp, and his followers in Christian communism. Her book chronicles the milestones of the Rappite experience: the arrival of Father Rapp in the United States in 1803; organization of the Harmony Society two years later in Butler County, Pennsylvania; subsequent moves, first to the Wabash Valley in frontier Indiana, and then back to the site of Economy a few miles north of Pittsburg on the Ohio; and finally dissolution of the Society in 1905. But the recording of these events is only incidental to the larger purpose of recapturing the idyllic mood engendered by the Harmony Society's gentle way of life and reflected in the characters of its leaders and in the social relationships and folkways of its members. The highly idealized picture resulting from this effort is likely to be questioned by readers who do not share the author's sentimental attachments. In short, the treatment, which draws heavily upon personal reminiscences, is sympathetic and romantic rather than critical. From the standpoint of scholarship it adds little to the John A. Bole study, now a half-century old, or to the more recently published personal experience narrative of John Duss, a Harmonist trustee during years of decline marked by financial crisis and internal controversy.

Forty-three pages of pictures attractively printed and well chosen to portray features of

Economy's dress, architecture, and craftsmanship do enhance Miss Knoedler's book. Of lesser value is the brief appendix, half of which deals, somewhat unaccountably, with Robert Owen and the New Harmony experiment established on the site of Indiana holdings purchased from the Rappites in 1825. An abbreviated index completes the presentation.

EARL S. BEARD

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

The Meaning of Nationalism. By Louis L. Snyder. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. Pp. xv, 208. \$4.50.

Nationalism as an ideology and a dynamic social force is, indeed, a complex phenomenon, as stressed by Snyder. But its complexity has enticed numerous scholars, here and abroad, headed especially by Hans Kohn and Carlton C. J. Hayes. Theirs and numerous other contributions have been ably summarized by Snyder who has analyzed the material from far and wide, especially from the Western sources. (For some strange reason there is no reference to such "Eastern" thinkers as Thomas G. Masaryk, Eduard Benes, Nikolai Yakovlevitch Danilevsky, Constantin Nikolaevitch Leontiev, and others).

Snyder presents his summaries in compact chapters, covering the semantic aspects of nationalism, the concept of the nation and nationality, the sentiment and classification of nationalism, economic nationalism, patriotism and nationalism, the problem of national character and the idea of a national soul. The best sections are those which cover the psycho-analytical and psychiatric aspects of nationalism, such an approach is seldom utilized by

the average student of nationalism. But the final conclusions of Snyder are rather amazing: "The desire for the well-being of one's own nation can be—and must be—made compatible with the welfare of all humanity" (p. 198). We hear here the cry in the wilderness of such nationalistic prophets as Mazzini and Masaryk, whose voices could not foresee what was to happen to their great ideal by the contemporary practitioners of power politics, especially those ruling the Kremlin.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Societies Around the World. By Irwin T. Sanders, Editor. New York: The Dryden Press, 1954. Volume I: Pp. xvii, 528. Volume II: Pp. xix, 608. \$5.90 each.

Scholars from the different disciplines of the social sciences contribute to give the beginning student an understanding of six specific cultures. The first volume portrays the Eskimo, the Navajo, and the Baganda; the second, the Chinese peasant, the Cotton South, and the English Midlands. Thus the student not only gets a varied picture of each culture, but also of the interests and orientations of the different disciplines as they deal with specific groups.

Eminent scholars such as Melville Herskovits, Clyde Kluckhohn, G. D. H. Cole, Henry S. Commager, E. Franklin Frazier, Gunnar Myrdal, Warren S. Thompson, J. B. Priestly, and Rebecca West are among the hundred and twenty authors whose works are included in the two volumes. In such a collected work the reader also comes in contact with varying interpretations of the same set of social relationships. For instance in the section on the Cotton South, U. B. Phillips presents the comforts and security of slaves in the old South. Other contributors present the harsher aspects of plantation life.

A main theme running through the text is an examination of social change. Arranging societies in the framework of the comparative method, from the simple to the complex, has previously involved assumptions, such as that of progress, that have hindered the study of societies. In spite of the difficulties of the basic framework the text includes much useful informative material.

Societies Around the World might well be used for an introductory course in the social sciences. The six cultures would also be good testing grounds for the generalizations of a particular discipline.

The very natural photographs of individuals in their different habitats add to the interest as well as the attractiveness of the publication.

ALICE B. RIDDLEBERGER

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Economic History of Great Britain. By W. Stanford Reid. New York: The Ronald Press, 1954. Pp. xxvii, 557. \$6.00.

The purpose of this book, according to the author's preface, "is to provide a factual basis upon which the student of economics and history can build an understanding of the economic development of Great Britain." The author has designed the book primarily for the use of college students in the United States and Canada. He has carefully traced Britain's economic growth from prehistoric times to the present but has given most attention to modern industrial Britain. More than most textbooks on economic history, this one emphasizes the role of Scotland in British development.

The book is divided into three major chronological divisions and within each division separate chapters are devoted to agriculture, trade, industry, and the relation of the government to economic life. Within these major periods the author has tried to relate economic thinking to economic development. More than this, he has attempted "to appraise the climate of opinion of different periods as expressed in political, philosophic, and religious thought." This is a gigantic undertaking, and the author has not always reached his ambitious goals.

In the first major division of his work, which stretches from prehistory to the Stuart period, the author is more at home than in the later periods of his survey. His broad knowledge of political and religious history, as well as his enthusiastic interest in Scotland, illuminates the economic aspects of medieval development. He treats at length agriculture, the rise of towns, the expansion of trade, and the formation of craft and merchant guilds. But it is not clear from his exposition why the regulations of the manor and the guilds were "a brake

upon the progress of economic development" or just how "individualism received support from the state in the form of monopolies, charters, and grants of privileges." (p. 74)

The second major division of his work, which reaches from 1715 to 1870, embraces the agrarian and industrial revolutions. Within this division there are separate chapters on economic principles, transportation, trade, industry, agriculture, finance, taxation, and government regulation. The tracing of these topics separately over so long a period of time, however, deprives them of reality and leaves to students the more difficult task of synthesis.

The third division, from 1870 to the present, delineates the economic decline of Britain relative to the rapid growth of Germany and the United States. The author shows the shattering impact of the two World Wars and properly explains Britain's present decline in terms of events and conditions reaching back as far as 1870. It should be remembered, however, that the financial and economic complexities of Britain's present position defy the simple and hasty analysis of a general economic history textbook. In spite of such a limitation, this carefully compiled manual of dates, names, and institutions will serve as an admirable introduction to the economic conditions of British life.

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

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Foreign Policy Analysis. By Feliks Gross. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. xxiv, 179. \$3.75.

This little study is comparatively quite expensive since it covers only 179 pages; but its value is very high since it deals with a field which has not been too well covered by the social scientists although it is the core of all discussions of contemporary problems. By applying the latest findings of the social sciences, he shows, step by step, how foreign policies are formulated in terms of causation, semantics and technology, ideology, various (geographic, economic, population, military, socio-political and cultural) factors, and strategic and tactical policies. For those who look upon international relations as a happy hunting ground of "dime a dozen opinions," the

treatment will be disappointing, for, if anything, Gross's analysis mercilessly shows how, at all steps, every political decision is dependent on numerous complicating and complex factors. Those who favor the use of science in viewing contemporary events will be happy to have finally a contribution which is the best possible introduction to foreign policies as social processes. For those who want their reading seasoned with optimism, Gross gives up his empiric description and analyses on the last page: "The great strategic objective of the democracies is a free world under law, free of misery, war and slavery. Maybe it is a vision, a social myth, but it is an image which must direct our deeds for the very sake of our survival, and it is a moral image with a fair chance to become reality" (p. 174).

The great merits of this important contribution to the science of international relations are somewhat weakened by the lack of a good bibliography and by the too many complimentary references of the author to his many friends who are not known for their contributions to this academic field.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
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A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists.

By V. O. Key, Jr. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954. Pp. xii, 209. \$2.50.

Anyone familiar with V. O. Key's masterly *Southern Politics* will be alerted for anything from his pen. The application of statistical techniques to the study of political behavior, and putting that behavior in its total sociological setting, as so ably exemplified in that work, mark great recent advances in political science.

A little of the philosophy and reasoning behind this trend is set forth in this book, but it remains exactly what the title says, a primer. The aim, Professor Key states, has been to explain simply a few of the more common and more useful statistical procedures as they can be applied by political scientists, historians, and others concerned with political studies. He makes no claims as a statistician, and the book makes no statistical contribution. But having the elements of statistics adapted to a specific subject in a simple manual is very practical,

and should, as Professor Key hopes, stimulate further acceptance of quantitative study of political behavior and the development of a more comprehensive technical methodology. The concluding chapter, "Inferences From Quantitative Data," indicates the author's awareness of the fact that without proper interpretation, statistics are both sterile and dangerously deceptive.

WAYNE C. NEELY

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The first edition of *American Heritage*, the *Magazine of History*, Volume VI, Number I, December, 1954, made its appearance on the market in December, 1954. This is a new kind of periodical, both magazine and book. Teachers of the Social Studies will welcome this magazine in book form and will find it extremely valuable in preparing their assignments for the Social Studies.

PAMPHLETS

"Delaware Valley U.S.A.," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Magazine Section, September 20, 1954. Tells the Story of the Growth of this Great Valley. Write to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 400 N. Broad Street, Phila., Penna., for copies.

"Twentieth Century World: A Reading Guide." Tenth Edition by Franklin D. Scott and Gerard L. Berckhout. Copies can be secured by writing Chandler's, Evanston, Illinois. Price \$2.00.

"Education in a Transition Community," by Jean D. Grambs. Copies can be secured by writing to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Price 25 cents.

"American Democracy in Mid-Century." A Bibliography of Recent Books in the American Tradition, by Richard Fink. Publisher: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., Danville, Illinois. Price 60 cents.

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"The Truth About the Farm Business," *U.S. News and World Report*, October 8, 1954.

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Columbus Georgia in the Confederacy. By Diffie William Standard. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1954. Pp. vi, 77. \$2.00.

My Country and Yours. By Hattie M. Anderson and J. A. Hill. Austin, Texas: The Steck Company, 1954. Pp. xlvii, 348. \$3.50.

Creating a Good Environment for Learning. 1954 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington, D.C., N.E.A. Pp. xxi, 307. \$3.75.

Citizen Cooperation for Better Public Schools and Mass Media and Education. Edited by Nelson Henry. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. lxxxvi, 290. \$4.00. Pp. xvii, 304. \$4.00. Two volumes.

Psychology in Teaching. By Henry P. Smith. New York: Prentice-Hall Incorporated, 1954. Pp. xiii, 466. \$4.95.

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Schools and the Development of Good Citizens. By Stanley E. Diamond. Detroit, Michigan: Wayne University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii, 215. \$3.50.

Personnel Problems of School Administration. By Clarence A. Weber. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1954. Pp. xi, 378. \$5.00.

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The Scourge of the Swastika: A Short History of the Nazi War Crimes. By Lord Russell of Liverpool. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. vii, 259. \$4.50.

Civics For Youth. By James B. Edmonson, Arthur Dondineau and Mildred C. Letton. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954. Pp. xxv, 405. \$2.50. Revised Edition.

Citizenship Economics. By Ira Wilder and Jerome Sherk. New York: Oxford Book Company, 1954. Pp. xi, 207. Paper bound, 65 cents. Cloth bound, \$1.00.

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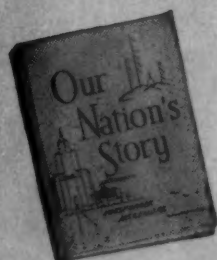
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